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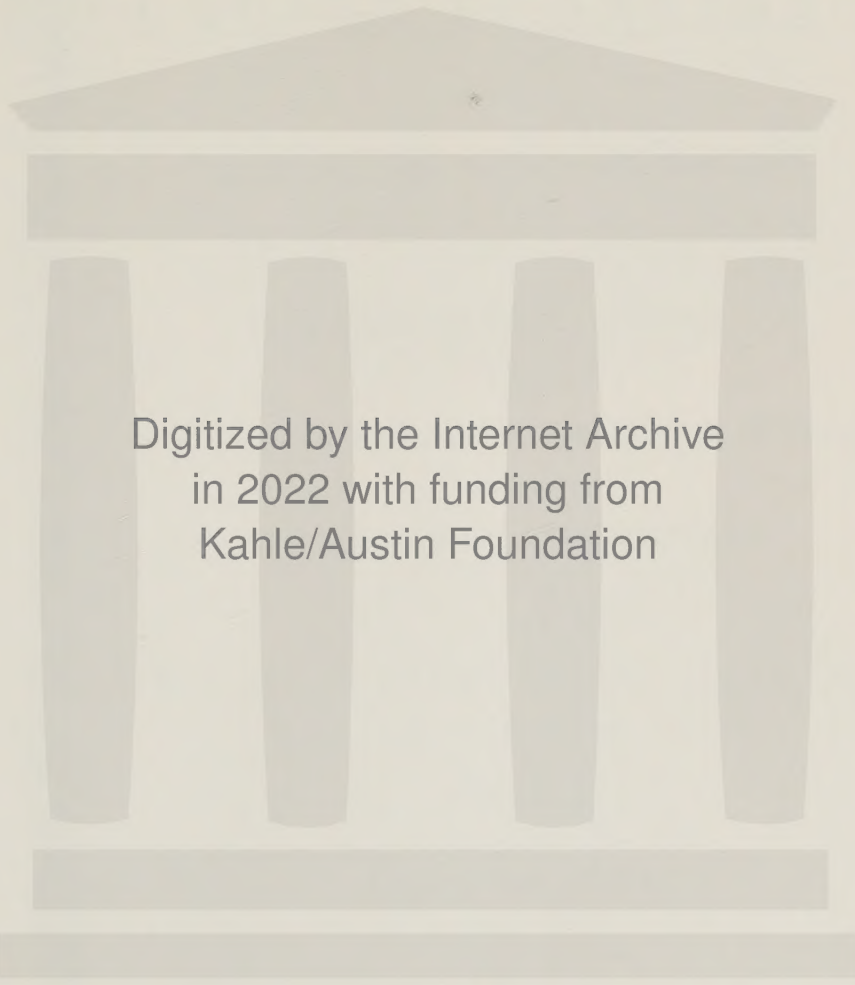
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HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF IRELAND,

FROM THE
REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION;

WITH
A PRELIMINARY SURVEY,
FROM
THE PAPAL USURPATION, IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY,
TO ITS
LEGAL ABOLITION IN THE SIXTEENTH.

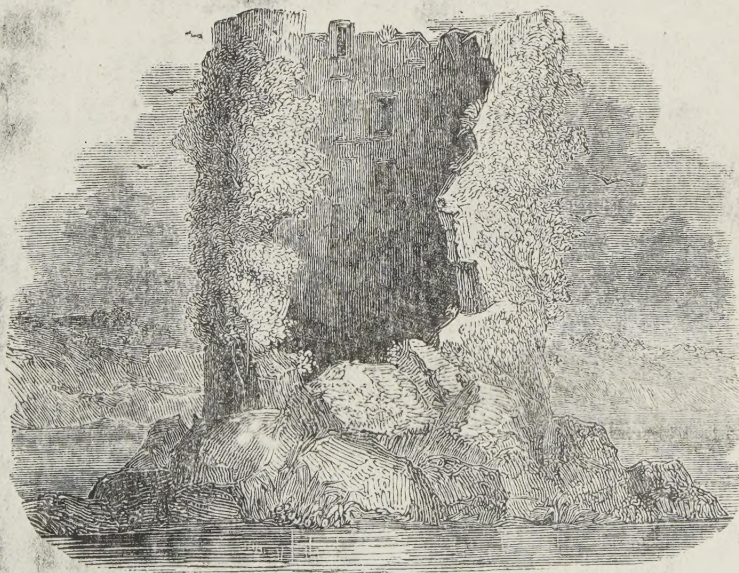
BY
THE RIGHT REV^d RICHARD MANT, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

V. 1, Pt. 1

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLI.



Remains of Lough Oughter Castle, where Bishop Bedell
was confined in 1641.

1823271

OF EXCELLENCE

OUR GOAL IS THE ATTAINMENT

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LONDON:
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

TO THE
CHURCH OF CHRIST,
CATHOLICK AND APOSTOLICK,

UNDER HIS PROVIDENCE
IN IRELAND BY LAW ESTABLISHED:

SPECIALLY TO THE
BISHOPS AND CURATES,
AND THE
CONGREGATIONS COMMITTED TO THEIR CHARGE:

THIS HISTORICAL SKETCH,
INTERESTING PROBABLY FROM ITS SUBJECT, HOWEVER DEFECTIVE
IN EXECUTION, IS, AFTER ALMOST TWENTY YEARS OF
PROFESSIONAL CONNEXION, PRESENTED AS
THE AUTHOR'S RESPECTFUL OFFERING OF CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP
AND BROTHERLY LOVE.

DGWN AND CONNOR H USE,
October, 1839.

MS. 126. 2. 1

A 291

ADVERTISEMENT.

My opinion of the utility of a work on the subject of the present undertaking is briefly stated at its commencement. Ignorance of the existence of such an one induced me to engage in this attempt to supply the deficiency; and I may add, that it certainly would not have been undertaken, if I had hoped to see the realizing of the prospect, several years ago held out to the publick, that a History of the Church of Ireland would be put forth by one so well qualified to execute it, as the present Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. Having, however, been assured by Dr. Elrington, that prolonged ill-health; and other literary and professional occupations, prevented him from fulfilling his intention; and that he should be happy to be released from his promise by the task falling into other hands; I have ventured to do that, with which the reader, as well as myself, might have had better reason to be satisfied, if it had been done by another.

In constructing my work, much difficulty has been encountered, and much information withheld, by the absence of a fuller supply of materials. Of such as I could command, I have endeavoured to make the best use in my power. In some cases advantage has been now and then taken of kind assistance, which

has been for the most part acknowledged on the occasion. But for the friendly zeal and intelligence, by which my attention has been directed to many valuable channels of information in the University Library, as well as for the free use of a copy of WARE's *History of the Bishops*, enriched with a large collection of curious manuscript annotations, derived from various sources, my special thanks are due to its learned possessor, the Reverend James Henthorn Todd, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

R. D. AND C.

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THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

SUMMARY VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, FROM
THE PAPAL USURPATION, IN THE TWELFTH CEN-
TURY, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION,
IN THE SIXTEENTH.

SECTION I.

*Introduction. Polity and Independence of the Church.
Commencement of the Pope's Interference. The Archie-
piscopal Pall. Nomination to Bishopricks. Papal
Encroachments on the Royal Prerogative.*

AN acquaintance with the history of the Reformed Church of Ireland is necessary for completing an acquaintance with the history of the British empire in general, as well as with that of Ireland in particular. It is also necessary for completing an acquaintance with the history of that National Church, of which the Irish Church forms an integral member, the United Church of England and Ireland. But an acquaintance with the history of the Reformed Church of Ireland is not readily attainable: for, whilst England and Scotland each possess its ecclesiastical histories, Ireland is destitute of similar channels of intelligence. Those, indeed, who are solicitous on the subject, and have the various sources of information at hand, may search it out, where it lies overwhelmed, as a secondary topic, among the records of the general history of the country; or

*Introduction.
Occasion of the
present work.*

imperfectly blended with the biographies of eminent political or ecclesiastical characters: or mixed up with heaps of miscellaneous documents. But it is not easy thus to procure a copious, detailed, entire, and continuous view: and in all likelihood the consequence is, that the history of the Reformed Irish Church is known, with any considerable degree of accuracy and fulness, by a few only; and by the many is hardly known at all.

And the design
of it.

The design of the present undertaking is to give a regular narrative of events in the Church of Ireland, and thus to supply a defect in the ecclesiastical history of the British empire, during the important period that intervened between the commencement of the Reformation, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and its final establishment by the abdication of King James the Second. Information on this subject may be found, as already intimated, dispersed over several quarters, but it requires to be collected, combined, and arranged: and although, after all, it be incomplete, from the failure of many valuable documents, still, perhaps, sufficient may be brought forward to engage and reward attention. The circumstances of my professional life naturally made me desirous of becoming possessed of this information; and that, which I in the first place endeavoured to procure and digest for my own satisfaction, I thought might be so increased and constructed as to be not unacceptable to others. But before we enter on the proposed narrative, it will be useful to take a brief survey of the condition of the Irish Church at the beginning of the proposed period, or rather during the three or four centuries that preceded it.

Primitive polity

The polity of the Church of Ireland, like that of

all national members of the Church Catholick, was from the first episcopal, comprising the three orders of ministers: bishops, priests, and deacons. At the era of the Reformation, its episcopate consisted of four archbishops and twenty-six suffragan bishops. Each of the archbishops had metropolitan authority and jurisdiction in his own province; and the Archbishop of Armagh, being the Primate of all Ireland, possessed a visitatorial power over the other three provinces. The suffragan bishops had been in former times much more numerous. In the earliest ages, indeed, of the existence of the Irish Church, they are said to have exceeded three hundred: but many of these were situated in small villages or districts, and their number was soon reduced. In the year 1152, or about four centuries before the Reformation, in a national synod, they amounted to thirty-four: of whom ten were in the province of Armagh, five in that of Dublin, twelve of Cashel, and seven of Tuam. Of some of these the names were retained at the time of the Reformation, and indeed are still preserved; but of the greater number the names had at that period been changed into others of a simpler form and more easy pronunciation, or had been merged in the names of other contiguous bishopricks, with which the smaller and less important had been united¹.

of the Church of Ireland.

Until about the middle of the twelfth century the Church of Ireland maintained its character, as an independent national church, without acknowledging any pre-eminence, authority, or jurisdiction, of the See of Rome. The Archbishops of Armagh exercised a spiritual power throughout the country;

Independence of the Irish Church.

¹ *History and Antiquities of* Knight; edited by Walter Harris, Ireland, by Sir JAMES WARE, Esq. Dublin, 1764. Vol. ii. p. 285.

Appointment of
bishops.

and erected archbishopricks and bishopricks without consultation or communication with the Roman Pontiff. For the supply of vacant bishopricks persons were elected by the clergy, or by the clergy and laity, of the diocese, recommending them to the king; or by the king's nomination or influence, concurring with the good will of the clergy and people: whereupon the bishop-elect was sent to the archbishop for consecration: to the Archbishops of Armagh for the most part, except in the case of those colonies of Ostmen from the north of Europe, who inhabited the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick; and who, esteeming themselves countrymen of the Normans, now in possession of England and of its highest ecclesiastical dignities, sent their bishops to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But in every case these appointments and consecrations were altogether independent of the Papal See².

First interference of the
Pope.

Archiepiscopal
palls solicited by
Archbishop Malachy.

The earliest interference of the Pope on such occasions in Ireland was in the twelfth century.

The pallium, or pall, is an ensign of dignity, which the Pope had taken upon himself to confer upon archbishops. But this ensign was never worn by an Irish archbishop until the year 1152³. Malachy O'Morgair had occupied the archiepiscopal see of Armagh by the joint suffrages of the clergy and people, and resigned it afterwards by his own voluntary act in 1137, retiring to the suffragan bishoprick of Down. What was his motive to the step, which he took two years later, has not been distinctly

Year of our Lord
1137

² *Discourse on the Religion of the Ancient Irish.* By Dr. JAMES USSHER, Archbishop of Armagh; edit. Dublin, 1815, chap. viii.

³ WARE's *History of the Irish Bishops*, being vol. i. of his *History and Antiquities*, p. 55.

stated; but it is most probably to be found in a desire to assimilate the usages and discipline of the Irish Church more nearly to those of Rome; especially by introducing among the clergy an obligation to celibacy, which was not required of them at the time in question, but was, at an early period after, most earnestly imposed upon them by Malachy in his new capacity, in which he soon made his appearance among them. However this be, the step, which he now took, was that of a journey to Rome, for the purpose of soliciting from the Pope two palls: one for the metropolitan see of Armagh, which, though possessed from the beginning of archiepiscopal dignity and authority, had never borne the archiepiscopal pall; the other, for the newly-constituted metropolitical church of Cashel, which was indebted for its creation to his almost immediate predecessor Celsus.

Innocent the Second, who at that time filled the Papal chair, received Malachy very courteously, informed himself accurately by his means of the condition of the Irish Church, confirmed the establishment of the archbishoprick, invested him with the office of his legate in Ireland, an office recently instituted, and previously filled by only one occupant, and dismissed him with tokens of singular respect and benevolence: but with regard to the palls, he acquainted him, that a matter of that consequence ought to be transacted with great solemnity, and by the common suffrages of a National Council, which the Pope advised him to call on his return into Ireland, with a promise that, upon their request, the palls should be granted. The Papal policy appears to have been to encourage the zeal of the voluntary agent, so as eventually to produce the desired

The Pope's courteous reception of Malachy.

consummation, but to be cautious of adopting any measure without being previously assured that it would be acceptable to the Irish Church.

Malachy's exertions to promote the Papal authority.

Year of our Lord 1148.

On his return to Ireland, Malachy, in his character of Papal legate, proceeded to exercise his function in all parts of the country, and was indefatigable in his efforts to reduce the Irish Church to a conformity with that of Rome. Gelasius had succeeded to the vacancy which he had made in the archbishoprick of Armagh. And matters being at length judged ripe for prosecuting the application for the palls, with the concurrence of the primate and the legate, a national synod was assembled at Holmpatrick, in the year 1148, when fifteen bishops, two hundred priests, and a considerable number of the inferior clergy, are said to have attended, and joined in making a solicitation to the Pope. Eugenius the Third had in the interval succeeded to the Papal chair. To him, therefore, the request of the assembly was addressed; and Malachy, at his own urgent entreaty, was deputed to convey it. His sudden illness and death upon his journey caused an interruption in the progress of the business committed to him. But the delay was of no long duration. The opportunity for the Pope's interposition, afforded by the previous transactions, was not to be omitted. And accordingly, in the year 1152, John Paparo, Cardinal Priest, having been appointed by the Pope his apostolick legate to Ireland, arrived with four palls, which he was commanded to confer on the four Irish archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam^s.

Palls conferred on the four archbishops by Cardinal Paparo.

For the more solemn execution of the Papal commission, another national synod was convened at

^s WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 58.

Kells, on the 9th of March, 1152. To the mandate which ordered this convention, the greater part of the Irish bishops yielded obedience; there were some, however, of them, as well as of the inferior clergy, among whom those of Armagh and of Down are particularly noticed, who refused to sanction, by their presence, the acts of the council. But the legate, regardless of the opposition, proceeded to execute his instructions in the presence of those clergy who were assembled: and he accordingly conferred the pall on each of the four archbishops, distinguishing, at the same time, the See of Armagh with its peculiar honour, and recognising Gelasius, in accordance with ancient usage, as the Primate of all Ireland.

Year of our Lord
1152.

"The Annals of St. Mary's Abbey," says Harris, in his edition of Sir JAMES WARE's *Lives*, "and those at the end of Camden, call this prelate 'the first Archbishop of Armagh; that is, the first who used the pall: although others before him were called archbishops and primates out of reverence to St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, whose see was, from the beginning, held in the greatest honour, not only by bishops and priests, but by kings and princes.'" The fact is as we have seen; he was the first archbishop who compromised the independence of the National Church of Ireland by accepting the stamp and ensign of his ecclesiastical dignity from the hands of a foreign prelate.

Gelasius, the first
Archbishop of
Armagh who
used the pall.

A foundation was thus laid for the Bishop of Rome's interference with the vacant Irish Sees; but it does not appear to have been extended further than the bestowing of the archiepiscopal pall till the year 1206. In the mean time, King Henry the

Progress of the
Pope's interfe-
rence with the
Irish Church.

Second had acquired the dominion of Holland, in 1172; and soon after the acquisition, namely, in 1175, had exercised his prerogative in a council held at Windsor, by giving the bishoprick of Waterford, then vacant, to an Irishman named Augustin, and sending him to the Archbishop of Cashel for consecration. But in 1202, the lordship of Ireland having, in the mean time, passed to King John, on a vacancy which occurred in the archbishoprick of Armagh, a competition for the succession ensued among Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath; Ralph, le Petit, or the Little, archdeacon of Meath: and Humphrey de Tickhull, each of them pretending to be the candidate on whom the choice of the electors had fallen. The king decided in favour of Tickhull, on the 4th of May, 1202. But another candidate, Eugene MacGillivider, was declared archbishop by the Pope. The king, incensed by this usurpation of his authority, sent mandatory letters, on the 22nd of May, 1203, to all the suffragan bishops of that province, forbidding them to acknowledge Eugene for their metropolitan: and circulated duplicates among all his faithful subjects of the province, imposing on them the like prohibition^a.

First archbishop
appointed by the
Pope.

About the end of that year, however, the king's archbishop died; and his authority was then exerted in confirming the election of Ralph, archdeacon of Meath. But Eugene, who, by his Irish extraction and his personal good qualities, was rendered popular with the clergy and laity, had on the very first occasion hastened to the Court of Rome, and secured a publick acknowledgment and formal ratification of his claim from the Papal See. A powerful influence was also set in motion by himself or his friends for

^a WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 62.

counteracting the opposition of the king: three hundred marks of silver and three marks of gold, presented in Eugene's behalf by two friars of Mellifont, for restitution of the lands and liberties appurtenant to the archbishoprick, dispersed the indignation, and secured the acquiescence of the unworthy sovereign. In the grants made to British adventurers, the donation of bishopricks and abbeys had been expressly reserved to the Lord of Ireland; but the honour of the crown and the dignity of the country weighed light against the necessities of the weak and venal John; his wrath was appeased by the gratification of his covetousness, and he confirmed the appointment of Eugene⁷.

King John's weakness and venality.

1206.

This is the first Archbishop of Armagh who appears to have been appointed by the Pope's provision; nor can any instance be cited of a pretence on the part of the Pope to confirm a bishop, when elected, till the fatal collation of the archiepiscopal palls. But from this period history abounds with lamentable examples of controversy between the king and the Pope for this attribute of ecclesiastical supremacy. The nature of this controversy, as well as the general course which henceforth prevailed in episcopal appointments, may be understood from the following statement.

Subsequent contests between the king and the Pope for episcopal appointments.

Upon the next vacancy of the see of Armagh, in 1217, Luke Netterville, the archdeacon, was regularly and canonically elected by the chapter; and went over to England with the instrument of his election, for the purpose of procuring the king's confirmation. This, however, was refused, upon the plea of the election having been made without the king's licence. For it had been the constant order

Regular method of appointing bishops.

1217.

of proceeding in England, and the same became the order in Ireland after the introduction of the English laws, that, upon a vacancy in the archbishoprick or bishoprick, the chapter first sued to the king for a *congé d'élire*: that is, a licence to proceed to election; and, after an election made, they certified it to the king, and obtained his royal assent; and thereupon he issued a writ of restitution to the temporalities, which he held in his hands until the see was settled. If any chapter proceeded to an election without the king's previous licence, the king annulled the act, and commanded them to proceed to a new election, upon licence first obtained. Sometimes, however, he was graciously pleased to pardon the contempt; always adding to the grant of this favour a clause, that it should not be made a precedent to the prejudice of the crown, and obliging both the electors and the elected to give security for that purpose; and sometimes he proceeded judicially against the offenders, and imposed a heavy fine on them for their contempt^a.

Interference of
the Pope with
such appointments.

Meanwhile the Pope often interfered; and, when he found an election to a church litigated, would place a pastor in it, "out of the plenitude of his power," as he termed it, without any election; and would often disapprove and nullify canonical elections, and place his own dependants in vacant sees, in contempt and violation of the king's prerogative. Still, whatever power the Pope usurped on these occasions, it had relation only to the spiritualities; namely, those profits which the bishop received as bishop, and not as a baron of parliament, such as visitation, ordination, and institution dues. The temporalities, or lay revenues, which the bishop

^a WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 63.

enjoyed, still remained entire to the crown; and the provisional bishop had but little for his subsistence, until he obtained restitution to the temporalities by the king's consent.

Thus to complete the appointment of a bishop, there were henceforth three parties concerned: the king, the Pope, and the diocesan chapter; and of these the conflicting sentiments and wishes were the fruitful source of much contest and confusion, by no means conducive to the honour or welfare of the Church. As to the chapter, indeed, they had little more than a nominal share in the appointment; for the *congé d'élire* by degrees was considered as leaving to the electors only the shadow of a right, while, in the licence to elect, the king named the person to be elected. The inutility and absurdity of this method were perceived; and accordingly at an early season of the Reformation, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, the *congé d'élire* was abolished in Ireland; and the nomination to bishopricks left to the appointment of the crown by letters patent, without any capitular election. But with respect to the rival claims of the king and the Pope, matters were not so easily adjusted. Much inconvenience was continually caused by the conflict of the supposed rights of each; nor was the Pope satisfied with his actual usurpation of the spiritualities, but sometimes endeavoured to wrest the temporalities also out of the power of the crown. Hence it became the constant practice for bishops, on receiving their temporalities from the king, to renounce by a solemn document all right to the same by virtue of any Papal provision, and to acknowledge that they were granted only by the royal bounty. Yet the Pope was often on the watch to make encroach-

Inconvenient
consequences of
this method.

Papal usurpations.

1250.

Submission of
King Henry the
Third.

ments on the crown, when it was worn by a prince naturally feeble, or involved in political difficulties. Thus, in 1258, when King Henry the Third was at war with his barons, Pope Alexander the Fourth sent him an insolent command to restore Abraham O'Conellan to the temporalities of the archbishoprick of Armagh, which had been granted to him by his Holiness through the plenitude of his power; and to that command the necessitous king tamely submitted'.

Further en-
croachments of
the Papacy on
royal preroga-
tive.

Other encroachments were attempted to be made on the royal prerogative by the Papal provisions, in which were inserted clauses prejudicial to the king and the kingdom. As a counteraction of such encroachments, it was customary for the Irish bishops to receive consecration in England, that so, before the completion of their titles by the king, they might be obliged to renounce in person any claims prejudicial to the crown, contained in the Pope's bulls. Sometimes this renunciation was allowed to be made by proxy; and then the bishop-elect was spared the trouble and expense of a journey into England, by virtue of a royal mandate for his consecration by the Irish Metropolitan, as in the instance of Richard de Northampton, consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin to the bishoprick of Ferns in 1282¹⁰. In pursuance of the same principle of counteraction, in the time of King Edward the Second, in 1306, the king refused to restore the temporalities to Walter, who had been restored to the archbishoprick of Armagh by the Pope's provision, until he had renounced all the offensive clauses, and engaged to pay a fine of a thousand crowns for that misde-

⁹ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 441.

meanour¹¹. It was another device of the Papal see, to protract the time by long and useless delays in examining a bishop's election; and so to constrain him, though lawfully elected, to resign his right into the Pope's hands, and to receive his bishoprick again by the Pope's provision dearly purchased, as in the case of William de Bermingham, elected to the archbishoprick of Tuam in 1289; and, on his resignation of his lawful claim, reappointed to that see by the Pope¹².

But the influence of the Papal See in Ireland was made instrumental to the furtherance of its ambitious projects, in other ways prejudicial to the rights both of the sovereign and the subject. In 1229, a chaplain of the Pope was sent over with a demand of the tenths of all the moveables, to support him against the Emperor Frederick: a tax so hard to be discharged, that it was necessary to part from, not only the cadows and aqua vitæ, but even the chalices and altar-cloths¹³. In 1240, another missionary arrived from Pope Gregory, with a demand, under pain of excommunication and other censures ecclesiastical, of the twentieth part of the whole land, besides donations and private gratuities for the maintenance of the war against the emperor: whereby he extorted a thousand and five hundred marks or more¹⁴. In 1270, another messenger was sent, requiring the tithes of all spiritual promotions for three years to come, to carry on the wars of the Pope with the King of Arragon; a demand which was greatly murmured at and gainsaid, yet the nuncio went not empty away¹⁵. In 1329, a remarkable reservation in

Prejudicial influence of the Papal See.

¹¹ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 71.

¹² *Ib.*, p. 603.

¹³ *Hibernia Anglicana, or History of Ireland*. By RICHARD

COX, Esq.; 1689. vol. i. p. 61.

¹⁴ Cox, i., 65.

¹⁵ *Annals of Ireland*. By Sir JAMES WARE. Hen. iii. p. 57.

favour of the Papacy was made in a commission, sent by the Pope's Penitentiary General to the Dean of St. Patrick's, empowering him to hear the Archbishop of Dublin's confession of certain crimes, in pursuance of the request of the archbishop himself; the commission, in the thirteenth year of the pontificate of Pope John the Twenty-second, empowered the dean to remit all the sins which might be confessed by the archbishop, except contempt of Papal authority¹⁶. And in 1394, Pope Boniface the Ninth, for the promotion of a favourite of his own, took the extraordinary step of translating William O'Cormacain, against his will, from the archbishoprick of Tuam to the bishoprick of Clonfert: a translation which the archbishop took so much to heart, that he neglected to expedite his Bull in due time, and was thereupon deprived, and fell into a fit of sickness, which at last terminated in his death: "a new strain," as Harris hath well remarked, "of the Pope's usurped power; who presumed to do what the king could not do, namely, to deprive a man of his freehold without the judgment of his peers¹⁷."

SECTION II.

Encroachments by the Irish Hierarchy on the King's Prerogative. Arrogance and Violence of the Prelates towards each other. Other Enormities in the Hierarchy. Abuses of Excommunication. Treatment of Hereticks.

Example of the
Papal See follow-
ed by the Irish
hierarchy.

MEANWHILE the same spirit of encroachment, which actuated the occupiers of the Roman See in opposition to the royal prerogative, was imparted to the

¹⁶ *History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral.* By W. MONCK MASON, Esq. Dublin, 1820. p. 122.

¹⁷ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 640.

highest order of ecclesiasticks; and manifested itself, as occasions were offered, in the members of the Irish hierarchy.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, filled the honourable and confidential office of Lord Justice of Ireland under King John. Yet so regardless was he of the trust reposed in him, and of the consequent duty, and so glaring were his infringements of the rights of the crown, by drawing temporal causes into ecclesiastical courts, that the clamours of the subjects were no less excited against him than the resentment of the king: and in the year 1223, on the complaints of the citizens of Dublin, a writ was issued to prohibit him from such practices in future, not without threats of severe penalties if he proceeded¹.

Instances of encroachments by the prelates on the royal prerogative, in an Archbishop of Dublin;

Similar writs of prohibition, under pain of losing his temporalities, were issued against Albert of Cologne, archbishop of Armagh; who, during his occupancy of the metropolitanical see, from 1240 to 1247, roused the displeasure of King Henry the Third, by labouring to advance the usurped authority of the Pope; and especially by prosecuting a long suit with the prior of Lanthony in the spiritual court, concerning pleas of advowson and patronage which belonged only to the temporal courts of the king².

In an archbishop of Armagh;

About 1250, the bishops in general formed a project to deprive the king of the custody of the temporalities during the vacancy of a see; and also to prevent their tenants from suing in the king's courts without the Pope's assent³.

In the bishops collectively;

About 1277, Nicholas, bishop of Down, asserted his privilege to hold almost all pleas of the crown in his manors; and claimed cognisance of felonies, and

In a Bishop of Down;

¹ WARR's *Bishops*, p. 319.

² *Ib.*, p. 66.

³ *Ib.*, p. 506.

the right of ransoming felons; for which he was called to account by King Edward the First, and amerced. A full narration of the charge and the judgment is given by Harris, as a "discovery of the usurpations made on the crown by the aspiring bishops of those days." And in the year 1297, the same bishop was indicted for another offence of a similar complexion. For the abbey of the convent of St. John at Down being void, the prior and convent sought and obtained the king's licence for electing another abbot. But the bishop broke into the Abbey, and stole the letters of licence, and created an abbot of his own choice, and restored to him the temporalities; whereupon both he and the newly-created abbot were prosecuted for the usurpation⁴.

In an Archbishop
of Armagh;

In the interval between these two occurrences, namely, in 1285, the Archbishop of Armagh, Nicholas Mac Molissa, made an attack on the king's prerogative, by seizing the temporalities of the See of Dromore during a vacancy; for which he was prosecuted in the King's Bench in Ireland, and amerced twenty marks, half of the penalty being afterwards remitted by the king, on his paying the remainder. The same primate, in 1291, promoted and headed a very extraordinary association, whereby the three other archbishops, all the suffragan bishops, all the deans and chapters, and the other orders and degrees of the clergy, unanimously engaged in a confederacy, not only under their hands and seals, but confirmed, moreover, by the sanction of an oath. They swore, first, that if they, or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, should, by *any lay power or jurisdiction whatever*, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, they would at their

In an association
of the arch-
bishops and
bishops;

⁴ WARE, p. 199.

common expense in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other in all courts, and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular. Secondly, that if any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders, should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business, by *any lay power or jurisdiction*, they would amply, and without delay, make up to them all such losses and damages, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues. Other articles of the agreement pledged them to mutual co-operation in enforcing sentences of excommunication, so that, if a person excommunicated in one diocese, should flee to another, the place where he continued should be put under an interdict; and laid every archbishop and bishop, who should be negligent in executing the agreement, under a penalty respectively of five hundred marks and two hundred pounds, to the Pope. This agreement was executed in the Dominican convent at Trim, the Sunday after St. Matthew's day; and, as Harris observes, needs no comment⁵.

In 1346, a parliament, holden at Kilkenny, having granted the king, Edward the Third, a subsidy for the exigences of the state, the Archbishop of Cashel opposed its being levied within his province, and summoned an assembly of his suffragan bishops, who joined with him in decreeing that all beneficed clergymen, that contributed to the subsidy, should be *ipso facto* deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of obtaining any other preferment within that province; that any of the laity, who were their tenants, contributing, should be *ipso facto* excommunicated; and that their children to the third generation should be incapable of being

In an Archbishop of Cashel, and his suffragans;

⁵ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 70.

promoted in the province to any ecclesiastical benefice. In consequence of these decrees the archbishop and the three bishops, who had attended the assembly, went to Clonmel; and in their pontifical robes, openly, in the middle of the street, excommunicated all who had advised or granted the subsidy, and all who were concerned in levying it; especially the king's commissioner for receiving it from the several collectors in the county of Tipperary⁶.

In a Bishop of
Limerick.

And in 1423, February the 3rd, a writ was directed to Cornelius O'Dea, bishop of Limerick, requiring him to appear before Edward, bishop of Meath, lord deputy, without excuse, on Tuesday next before St. Patrick's day, to answer such things as should be objected to him on the king's part, which summons he disobeyed⁷.

Unbecoming
conduct of the
prelates towards
each other.

There are on record during the same period various examples of arrogant and domineering conduct in different members of the hierarchy towards each other, which reflect much discredit on the individuals, and are no slight scandal to the Church. Among these disputes and contests, one of the most prominent is the rivalry, which prevailed for three or four centuries, between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, as to the right of each bearing his cross erect in the province of the other. This controversy, which had existed in earlier times, but been allayed in 1262, again broke out in 1311, when it was revived by John Lech, archbishop of Dublin; who, relying on the support of the king, whose favourite and almoner he was, forbade the primate, Walter Jorse, to appear in the province of Dublin with that emblem of metropolitical dignity.

Controversy
between the
Archbishops of
Armagh and
Dublin.

⁶ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 473.

⁷ *Rot. Pat. Tw. Berm.* 2 Hen. VIII. N. 45, D.

The primate declined the contest, being probably overborne by the king's power, which supported his competitor⁸. But, on the death of the primate, his brother, Robert Jorse, who succeeded him, continued the contest; and, having arrived at Howth the day after the Annunciation in 1313, he arose in the night-time, and by stealth erected his cross, and carried it in that position as far as the Priory of Grace Dieu, within the province of Dublin, where some of the archbishop's family met him; and, beating down his cross, drove him in confusion out of Leinster⁹. This contest was carried on from time to time with such violence, that on five several occasions, between the years 1429 and 1438, John Swain, the archbishop of Armagh, having been summoned to appear at parliaments holden in the province of Leinster, as often made returns to the writ of summons, that he could not personally attend without violating his consecration oath "to defend the rights of his see, being hindered by the contradiction and rebellion of the archbishop and clergy of Dublin, on the articles of bearing his cross and his primatial jurisdiction in that province¹⁰." And similar returns were made by his successor, John Prene, in 1442 and 1443, and four times by Archbishop Mey in 1446, and the three succeeding years¹¹. An interval of tranquillity succeeded, till the controversy was again raised by Archbishop Alan, a prelate of a high and turbulent spirit, in 1533, in opposition to Primate Cromer¹².

In the meantime different scenes of disgraceful outrage were occurring, in which the rulers of the Church unhappily bore too conspicuous a part.

⁸ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 74.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 75.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 77.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 86.

¹² *Ib.*, p. 78, 348.

Contention
between the
Bishops of Waterford and
Lismore.

About the year 1210 a most scandalous contention was carried on between two rival prelates, of Waterford and of Lismore, concerning certain lands alleged by each to be the property of his see. The question was referred for decision to delegates appointed by the Pope. The history is too long for insertion. But what especially relates to our immediate purpose, is the conduct of the Bishop of Waterford; who, being condemned by the delegates, and enraged at their sentence, formed a private plot with some of his dependents, for seizing the Bishop of Lismore. They besieged him for some time in his cathedral, where he was engaged in divine service. As he quitted the church they fell upon him, tore off his episcopal robes; robbed the church of its property, and hurried him from place to place, till they brought him to the castle of Dungarven, where the Bishop of Waterford threw him into a dungeon in irons. Seven weeks after, the Bishop of Lismore, having been cruelly macerated with thirst and hunger, escaped from prison; but was again surprised and seized by the Bishop of Waterford's clerk, who drew a sword and attempted to cut off his head. These opprobrious transactions were accompanied by the most outrageous behaviour of the Bishop of Waterford against the delegates and his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cashel; and led to a sentence of excommunication against him and his clergy, who abetted him in his outrages¹³.

Usurpations of
Bishop of Derry.

About 1266 a part of the diocese of Raphoe was taken away, and annexed to the see of Derry, by the overbearing power of the bishop of the latter see; who also treated after the same manner many churches of the diocese of Clogher¹⁴.

¹³ WARE, p. 528.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 271, 283.

In 1353 a contest arose between the Archbishop of Cashel and his suffragan, the Bishop of Waterford, who had burned two Irishmen for heresy, without the licence of the metropolitan: or, according to another account, for a contumely offered to the Virgin Mary. Thereupon "on Thursday after St. Francis's day, a little before midnight, the archbishop entered privately into the church-yard of the blessed Trinity at Waterford, with a numerous guard of armed men; and made an assault on the bishop in his lodgings, and grievously wounded him and many others in his company, and robbed him of his goods¹⁵."

Contest between
Archbishop of
Cashel and
Bishop of Water-
ford.

This was an outrage of a metropolitan on his inferior; the following is that of a suffragan on his superior. In 1369, a Bishop of Limerick having been accused of violating the privileges of the Franciscan Friars, the matter was referred, by the Pope, to the Archbishop of Cashel. But on a citation being issued for an answer to the alleged grievances, the bishop laid violent hands on the archbishop, tore the citation from him with such force that he drew his blood, and ordered him to be gone, with menaces of further injury to him and his attendants. In the end, after much litigation, the archbishop being compelled to fly from Limerick by the danger of fresh personal assaults, the bishop, clothed in his pontifical ornaments, entered the city with his accomplices; and by bell, book, and candle, publicly excommunicated every person who had supplied the archbishop with food or entertainment. And when the archbishop, on a day of solemnity, repaired to Limerick, according to custom, to preach, the bishop caused publick proclamation to be made, that no

Outrage of the
Bishop of Lime-
rick on the Arch-
bishop of Cashel.

¹⁵ WARE, p. 533.

person, under pain of excommunication, should hear his sermon; and excommunicated by name those who attended it; and when the archbishop left the city, the bishop sent after him some of his servants, who laid violent hands upon him, and forced the bridle from his horse¹⁶.

Allusion to other enormities.

Some acquaintance with these enormities is necessary for giving an insight into the condition of the Irish Church, during the ages preceding the Reformation: but it is painful to dwell upon them in detail. It may suffice, therefore, to allude in passing to the extortion of the Archbishop of Dublin, Henry de Loundres, in 1212, whom "they nicknamed, as the Irish do commonly give additions to their governors, in respect of some fact or quality, 'scorch-villain' and 'burn-bill,' because he required to peruse the writings of his tenants, colourably pretending to learn the kind of each man's several tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their estates or to hold at will¹⁷:"—

Extortion of Archbishop of Dublin.

Trials by battle.

To the trial by battle, in 1284, waged in a writ of right for a disputed manor, between the champion of the Bishop of Ossory, and the champion of his competitor¹⁸; and to a similar trial by combat, appointed in 1446, in Smithfield, between Thomas Fitzgerald, prior of Kilmainham, and James Butler, earl of Ormond, the former having impeached the latter of high treason¹⁹:—

Action between

To the action brought in 1309, by the prior of

¹⁶ WARE, p. 508.

¹⁷ CAMPION'S *History of Ireland*,
c. iii.

¹⁸ WARE'S *Bishops*, 406. Cox,
i. 76.

¹⁹ WARBURTON'S *History of*
Dublin, i. 180.

the Abbey of Ardfert, against the bishop of that diocese, and the chaplain of the church, for forcibly taking from the friars of the convent the corpse of John de Cantelupe, and burying it elsewhere, and also for beating and otherwise ill-using sundry friars of the house; the bishop, at the same time, prohibiting all persons, under pain of excommunication, from furnishing the friars with any necessaries, either through charity or otherwise²⁰:—

Prior of Ardfert, and bishop.

To the great controversy which arose in 1337, between the Archbishop of Armagh and the regulars, when at length, by favour of the Pope, the friars got the better of the prelate²¹:—

Controversy between Archbishop of Armagh, and friars.

To the resistance made in 1381, by the prior and brethren of St. Saviour's Friary, Dublin, against the appointment, by the Pope and the general master of the Dominicans, of a provincial of that order; opposing him by force of arms on his arrival at the monastery, meeting him at the door in coats of mail, with swords, clubs, and other weapons, assaulting him, and, with the assistance of the people, who rushed in on the ringing of the bell, seizing the provincial and his partizans, dragging them like common malefactors through the city, and imprisoning them in the castle²²:—

Assault of Prior of St. Saviour's Friary on provincial of the order.

To the articles of impeachment alleged in parliament, in 1421, by the Bishop of Waterford and Lisimore against the Archbishop of Cashel, charging him, among other offences, with the scandalous enormities of counterfeiting the King of England's seal, and his letters patent, and sacrilegiously taking a ring from the image of St. Patrick, and giving it to his concubine²³:

Impeachment of Archbishop of Cashel for scandalous enormities.

²⁰ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 300.

²² ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 208.

²¹ COX, i. 124.

²³ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 430.

Irregularities
and publick adul-
tery of Bishop of
Down.

To the numerous irregularities of the Bishop of Down, in 1434; and especially his criminal conversation, and publick cohabitation, with a married woman, in the castle of Kilelief, his episcopal residence²⁴:—

Rival claimants
of bishoprick of
Kilmore.

To the contest, in 1489, between two rival claimants of one and the same bishoprick, both asserting their right to the episcopal dignity, and both strangely entitled, at a provincial synod, “by the grace of God, Bishops of Kilmore²⁵:”—

Rival claimants
of Priory of Kil-
mainham.

To the no less remarkable contention in 1485, between two claimants of the priory of Kilmainham, prosecuted with violence and outrage, and terminating in their ignominious ejection from their dignity, and in the death of one in imprisonment, and of the other in poverty and disgrace²⁶:—

Controversy be-
tween the two
cathedrals of
Dublin.

To the pertinacious and irreconcilable controversy between the two cathedrals of Dublin, concerning the election of their archbishop, which continued to be carried on between the contending parties, notwithstanding the efforts of the Pope for their reconciliation²⁷:—

Murder of Bishop
of Leighlin by
his archdeacon.

And to the murder, in 1525, of a Bishop of Leighlin, by his archdeacon, because he had rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes, and threatened him with further correction²⁸.

Abuse of the
power of excom-
munication.

Incidental mention was just now made of excommunication, and the greater excommunication also was specifically noticed. This penalty was of two sorts: the less and the greater. The effect of the less was to separate the subjects of it from a

The less excom-
munication,

²⁴ HARRIS'S *State of the County of Down*, 1744, p. 24.

²⁵ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 229.

²⁶ WARE'S *Annals*, Hen. VII. p. 2.

²⁷ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 320.

²⁸ *Ib.*, p. 461.

participation of all the sacraments of the Church, and to retain them in that condition, until they were assailed or absolved, The greater excommunication And the greater. was much more formidable. For its effect was a separation of those against whom it was pronounced, "from God, and from all holy Church, and also from the company of all Christian folk, never to be saved by the passion of Christ, nor to be holpen by the sacraments that be done in holy Church, nor to have part with any Christian man²⁹." I cite the description from an English writer, but I suppose it to be equally applicable to the Irish Church. This powerful engine of ecclesiastical discipline, in both its divisions, was not unfrequently wielded against individuals or communities by the rulers of the Church: if sometimes in visitation of offences, which required severe reprobation, at others in a manner the most arbitrary, for the gratification of personal revenge or avarice, and in a degree which was much more than commensurate with the offence, and to an extent which comprehended the innocent with the offender.

The exclusion of individuals from the communion Excommunication of individuals, of the church was a common exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. Thus, early in the thirteenth century, for the most outrageous treatment of the Bishop of Lismore, followed by contumacy towards the Pope's delegates: first, the partizans of Robert, bishop of Waterford, then the Bishop of Waterford himself, and lastly the clergy of his diocese, were excommunicated by the Arch'bishop of Cashel, and under the Pope's authority, with the solemnity of a publick proclamation, and the accompaniments of bell, book, and candle³⁰. By an Arch-bishop of Cashel;

²⁹ BECON'S *Reliques of Rome*. Works, vol. iii. fol. 378, b.

³⁰ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 529.

By an Archbishop of Cashel and his suffragans;

In 1346, Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, with three of his suffragan bishops, decreed that all their tenants who should contribute to a certain subsidy, should be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated³¹.

By a Bishop of Limerick;

Peter, bishop of Limerick, in the year 1376, treated the brethren of the Gray Friary in that city with great indignity; and excommunicated every person who should either repair thither to hear divine service, or desire sepulture within their church. And afterwards, having been cited to appear before the Archbishop of Cashel for heresy, the same bishop in his pontificals entered the city of Limerick, and by bell, book, and candle, excommunicated every person who had supplied the archbishop with food or entertainment³².

By an Archbishop of Armagh;

In 1424, a sentence of the greater excommunication was denounced by John Swayn, archbishop of Armagh, on Catharine O'Farrel and Cornelius, her son, in case of disobedience to a claim for some of the principal goods, such as his horse, his ring, and his cup, which belonged to a deceased Bishop of Ardferit; and a similar claim was made on the executor of a deceased Bishop of Clogher, in pursuance, as the citation states, of a prescriptive custom³³.

By an Archbishop of Armagh;

In or about 1442, O'Donnell, prince of his clan, having seized the profits of the bishoprick of Raphoe, of which Archbishop Prene was the guardian, and being aided in his usurpation by the dean and chapter, the archbishop prosecuted them to a suspension, excommunication, and interdict, declared O'Donnell an heretick, and deprived the dean and chapter of their benefices³⁴.

General excommunication;

A general interdict, or the excommunication of

³¹ WARE, p. 478. ³² *Ib.*, p. 508. ³³ *Ib.*, p. 253, 185. ³⁴ *Ib.*, p. 274.

an entire province or district, was of less ordinary occurrence, though some examples of it are on record. Thus, early in the thirteenth century, in revenge for certain injuries inflicted on him by Hamo de Valoniis, lord justice of Ireland, John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, not only pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the offender and his associates, but, by an interdict on the unoffending city and diocese, suspended therein the celebration of all religious rites³⁵.

By an Arch-
bishop of Dublin;

In or about 1220, his successor, Henry de Loundres, in vindication of some exorbitant demands of his clergy, which were resisted by the magistrates and citizens, together with particular denunciations of the offenders, combined a general interdict upon the whole city³⁶.

By another Arch-
bishop of Dublin;

And in 1267, the Archbishop of Dublin, Fulk de Saunford, highly resented certain encroachments made by the mayor and citizens on the ecclesiastical immunities, and having ineffectually admonished them to forbearance, by his ordinary authority, promulgated against them the sentence of excommunication, and put the city under an interdict; in confirmation of which the Pope's legate sent orders to the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford, to denounce by bell, book, and candle, the excommunicated mayor and citizens in all publick places within the city of Dublin³⁷.

By another Arch-
bishop of Dublin;

About 1222, Donat, archbishop of Cashel, interdicted the king's tenants and lands within his diocese; which interdict, being without any reasonable cause, he was enjoined by the Pope to relax in fifteen days³⁸.

By an Arch-
bishop of Cashel.

The use of "bell, book, and candle," specified in

Bell, book, and
candle.

³⁵ WARE, p. 317.

³⁶ *Ib.*

³⁷ *Ib.*, p. 322.

³⁸ *Ib.*, p. 471.

some of the foregoing references, was an awful and alarming accompaniment, sometimes annexed to the sentence of excommunication for the purpose of giving additional terror to a denunciation, terrible as it was in itself. A circumstantial account of this ceremony, as practised in Ireland, does not occur to my recollection; but it probably did not differ in any material particulars from that which was used at the same period in England; and of which the following narrative is supplied by STAVELEY's *History of Churches in England*, on the authority of one of the early Reformers. He observes, that "an extraordinary and dreadful use was made of bells, and that was the cursing by bell, book, and candle." And he proceeds to "relate the manner thereof, out of an ancient festival, and the articles of the General Great Curse, found at Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1562, as it is set down by Thomas Becon, in the '*Reliques of Rome*.' This was solemnly thundered out once in every quarter. . . . At which action the prelate stands in the pulpit, in his aulbe, the cross being lifted up before him, and the candles lighted on both sides of it, and begins thus: 'By authority of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the glorious mother and maiden, our Lady St. Mary, and the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and all apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and the hallows of God, all those be accursed,' whereon the book records the offenders against whom the curse is denounced; and then concludes all with the curse itself, thus: "And now by authority aforesaid, we denounce all those accursed that are so founden guilty, and all those that maintain them in their sins, or give them hereto either help or counsel, so they be departed from God and all holy Church; and that

Manner of cursing by them.

they have no part of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, nor of no sacraments, nor no part of the prayers among Christian folk. But that they be accursed of God, and of the Church, from the sole of their foot to the crown of their head, sleeping and waking, sitting and standing; and in all their words, and in all their works; but if they have no grace of God to amend them here in this life, for to dwell in the pain of hell for ever without end. Fiat, fiat. Do to the book; quench the candles; ring the bell; amen, amen.' And then the book is clapped together, the candles blown out, and the bells rung, with a most dreadful noise made by the congregation present, bewailing the accursed persons concerned in that black doom denounced against them³⁹."

During this period the fire of persecution against heresy was lighted in Ireland, and the first victim was one Adam Niger, or Adam Duff, of the family of the O'Tools, in Leinster; who, in the year 1326 or 1327, being possessed, as was said, with a diabolical spirit, denying the incarnation of Christ, the Trinity of Persons, and the resurrection of the flesh, professing also that the Scriptures were fabulous, and that the See of Rome did affirm these errors, was by the Church adjudged to death, and was burned and hanged in the fire in Hoggin-green, near Dublin⁴⁰.

Burning of heretics.

Adam Duff.

About the same time a charge was brought by the Bishop of Ossory against the Lady Alice Kettle, with two accomplices, of "enchanting and witchcraft." One of the latter, Petronilla, a female servant, was convicted and burned at Kilkenny. What

The Lady Alice Kettle.

³⁹ *History of Churches in England.* By THOMAS STAVELEY, Esq. 1712; pp. 235, 238.

⁴⁰ *Lofius MS.*, Marsh's Library, Dublin.

became of the lady herself, and of the other accomplice, does not clearly appear. It has been stated, both that she escaped, and that she suffered death; and together with the charge of sorcery, has been blended that of heresy, which was alleged also against Arnold le Power, lord of Donnoil, and then seneschal of Kilkenny, and eventually against the Lord Justice of Ireland. On a solemn investigation of the charge, the lord justice was pronounced "a zealous and faithful child of the Catholick church;" but before the acquittal of the unfortunate Le Power, he died in confinement; and because he died unassailed, his corpse was left for a long time without burial⁴¹.

Two Irishmen of the Clankellans burnt.

Somewhat later in the same century, about 1353, two Irishmen of the Clankellans were convicted of heresy, or, according to another account, of contumely, offered to the Virgin Mary, before the Bishop of Waterford, and burned by his order⁴².

These were the earliest severe visitations of heresy in the Irish Church. Meanwhile, as to that particular form of heresy, so called, which in the ensuing centuries excited the jealous vengeance of the Papal power, that did not show itself in Ireland till long after its first appearance in England, nor even till the era of the Reformation.

SECTION III.

Moral character of the Clergy in general. Abuse of Ecclesiastical Privileges. Celibacy. Concubinage. Intellectual character. Defective means of Education.

Clerical character not high in the scale of morals.

THE characters of the clergy in general seem not to have stood high in the scale of moral improvement,

⁴¹ MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, pp. 120, 121.

⁴² WARR'S *Bishops*, p. 533.

being depressed both by an exemption which they claimed as belonging to their profession, and by the restraints which it imposed upon them.

Their ecclesiastical privileges appear to have been abused by them, and used as a shelter for dishonesty and outrage in the ordinary transactions of life. Thus a clerk, being indicted in 1310 for secreting himself in the church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin by night, and breaking open a chest wherein were deposited the alms given for the relief of the Holy Land, and carrying away the greater part of the money; and also for breaking open a coffer, and taking books thereout; and at the same time despoiling the image of St. Catherine of part of its ornaments, appeared, and pleaded that he was a clerk, and could not answer¹.

Ecclesiastical
privileges
abused,

in defence of
sacrilege,

The same plea was alleged in 1307 by the prior of the canons regular of Newtown, who was accused of inhumanly murdering a canon of his house, by stabbing him with a knife, and of assisting his brother to kill another friar. The prior pleaded that as a clerk he was not obliged to answer².

and of murder,

Letters patent having been issued by the king in 1390, for inquiry into divers extortions and offences committed in the Cistercian Abbey of Dumbrody, the royal commissioner on his arrival was assaulted with force and violence by the abbot and six of his monks, aided by their associates, who seized and destroyed the king's letters, and secured the commissioner in the abbot's prison for sixteen days, and compelled him to swear that he would never prosecute any of the persons concerned in the transaction³.

and of violence
and outrage,

After the same manner the clergy deemed their

¹ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 163.

² *Ib.*, p. 561.

³ *Ib.*, p. 738.

Clerical resistance to a canon against ecclesiastical debtors.

privileges infringed and violated, and were roused to expressions of deep indignation by a canon enacted in a provincial synod at Limerick in 1529; whereby authority was given to the mayor of that city for imprisoning ecclesiastical debtors until they should make due satisfaction to their creditors, without danger to the magistrates of incurring the censure of excommunication. The inference from this professional tenacity of exemption from a civil penalty in such a case is not favourable to a character for integrity in those who maintained it⁴.

Celibacy.

Meanwhile the consequences which have been commonly found to result from a forcible restraint imposed upon the innate and lawful appetites of human nature, did not fail to contaminate the purity of the Irish clergy.

Its introduction and effects.

So late as the twelfth century, the celibacy of the ministers of religion was not required nor generally practised in the Church of Ireland. About that period it was encouraged, and matrimony earnestly discountenanced, by the same legate of the Roman See, who was the prime promoter of Papal authority in that kingdom. And it is not a little remarkable, that about fifty years afterwards, in 1185, Albin O'Mallory, abbot of Baltinglass, and subsequently bishop of Ferns, preaching on the subject of the continency of clergymen at the synod in Dublin, lamented how the probity and innocence of the Irish clergy had been of late vitiated. The cause of this indeed he referred to the evil examples of the clergy of England and Wales, against whom he bitterly inveighed, and showed how great had been the chastity of the Irish clergy before they had contracted con-

⁴ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 482.

tagion from corrupt strangers. Giraldus Cambrensis, the celebrated historian, archdeacon of St. David's, who was present at the sermon, took upon him to rebuke the preacher for his censure of the English clergy, confessing that the Irish clergy were commendable enough for their religion, and among other virtues, for their chastity; but he hinted that their long fasts were concluded with drunkenness, and that their virtue was something rather in appearance than in reality⁵.

Report of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Thus, according to the testimony of Giraldus, the character of the Irish clergy was open to other charges of irregularity: whilst, as to that of incontinence, to whatever cause it be attributed, the fact of its prevalence, and of the recent deterioration of their characters in that respect, is too sufficiently attested by the complaint of the preacher; corroborated as it is by a canon of John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, made at this same synod, which "under the penalty of losing both benefice and office, forbids that any priest, deacon, or subdeacon, should keep any woman in his house either under the pretence of necessary service, or any other colour whatsoever; unless a mother, own sister, or such a person whose age shall remove all suspicion of any unlawful commerce⁶." An occurrence, which had taken place not long before, may serve still further to corroborate the allegation in the sermon, and to justify the prohibition of the archbishop; for of his immediate predecessor in the archiepiscopal see it is related that so high was his esteem for chastity, and so determined was his opposition to the contrary vice in his clergy that on one occasion he sent to Rome for the purpose of procuring their absolution

Canon of Archbishop Comyn.

⁵ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 439.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 317.

One hundred and
forty clerks sent
to Rome for in-
continency.
Extensive pre-
valence of incontinency.

from the Pope, one hundred and forty clerks, who had been convicted of incontinency⁷.

It were needless, as it is revolting, to dwell on individual examples of this profligacy. Its extensive prevalence appears from such attestations as these. And it is a proof of the prevalence and the notoriety of the vice, that among the municipal regulations, enacted for the good order of the town of Galway, by the corporation, in the year 1520, such a law should be found on the books of records, as the following:—"That no priest, monk, nor canon, nor friar, shall have no w—e nor leman, in any man's house within the town, and that man which keepeth or hosteth the said w—e or leman, to forfeit twenty shillings." And again, in the year 1530, "enacted that any priest or vicar of the college, found with any fault or crime, to lose one hundred shillings, and his benefice: and also if he or they keep any w—e, being with child, or bearing him children, to pay the above penalty⁸." The author, from whose work those extracts are cited, observes, that this is the only imputation which occurs, affecting the moral character of the town of Galway. Perhaps it should be regarded less as a local imputation than as an indication of the besetting sin of that class of men against whom the regulations are directed.

Not deemed dis-
creditable.

The sin, indeed, appears to have been so lightly esteemed of, that of those who were taught to believe marriage unprofessional and dishonourable, and who had recourse instead to illegitimate concubinage, there were some who made, and seduced others to make, a glory of their shame. Such is the

⁷ WARE, p. 314.

⁸ HARDIMAN'S *History of Galway*, pp. 202, 203.

purport of an anecdote, related by Bishop Bale, who, on his first arrival in Ireland, at an early stage of the Reformation, in 1552, had the following memorable conversation with a Popish priest relative to the parentage of the latter:—"The parish priest," he says, "of Knocktoner, called Sir Philip, was very serviceable, and in familiar talk described to me the house of the White Friars, which some time was in that town: concluding in the end that the last prior thereof, called William, was his natural father. I asked him, if that were in marriage? He made answer, No: for that was, he said, against his profession. Then counselled I him, that he should never boast of it more. Why, saith he, it is an honour in this land to have a spiritual man, as a bishop, an abbot, a monk, a friar, or a priest, to father. With that I greatly marvelled: not so much of his unshamefaced talk, as I did that adultery, forbidden by God, and of all honest men detested, should there have both praise and preferment^o."

To be the illegitimate offspring of a clergyman esteemed an honour.

In further exemplification of which it may be noticed, that Ralph Kelley, who died archbishop of Cashel, in 1361, is recorded as the illegitimate son of a Carmelite friar, by the wife of a merchant named Kelley, of Drogheda. The authority is that of John de Bloxham, Vicar-General of that order in Ireland about the year 1325. And that, in 1444, Bishop McCoughlan and James, the bishop's son, archdeacon of Clonmacnois, were slain in battle with another sept of their name¹. And in confirmation of the

^o *Vocation of John Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossory.* Republished in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 412.

¹⁰ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 478, and his *Writers of Ireland*, pp. 85, 320. *Bishops*, p. 173.

same may be cited the charge made by the jury of Clonmel to the king's commissioners, in 1537, of several of the regular priests in that part, who kept lemans or harlots, and had wives and children; as well as an Act of Parliament, which was passed not many years after, namely, in the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, 1569, in consequence of a discovery made by Sir Henry Sydney, the lord deputy, of the great abuse of the clergy of Munster and Connaught, in admitting unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities, which had not lawfulness of birth; but were descended of unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, chaunters, and such like, getting into the said dignities either with force, simony, friendship, or other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God's holy Church, and the evil example of all honest congregations¹¹."

Low intellectual
state of the
clergy.

The intellectual condition of the clergy seems to have been at this period one of great depression. The character given of them in that respect by Archbishop Browne, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, 1535, appears just, and applicable to those of the preceding ages. "This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders; and as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue¹²." And when a similar character of ignorance and illiteracy was attributed to the priests shortly after

¹¹ Irish stat., 11 Eliz. c. 6.

¹² ROBERT WARE's *Reformation of the Church of Ireland, in the*

Life and Death of George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin.

by the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger in the presence of Archbishop Dowdall, the great advocate of the Papacy, it met with no contradiction.

Some of the higher dignitaries, indeed, are recorded as constant and assiduous in exercising the office of preachers¹³, and as possessed of learning, which they probably acquired by their education at the English or continental universities. But, for the instruction of the great body of the parochial clergy, provision must have been hardly at all attainable. About the middle of the fourteenth century, Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, who is commemorated as a learned divine and an able and diligent preacher, and who left behind him testimonials of his literary qualifications in a manuscript book of sermons, which he preached partly in London, Lichfield, and other places in England; partly at Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim, and other churches in his province; and partly at Avignon in France; appears to have been desirous of procuring for others similar advantages of education to those which he had himself enjoyed. He accordingly sent three or four of the secular priests of his diocese into England to study divinity at Oxford; but they were forced soon to return, because they could not find there a Bible to be sold¹⁴. Facilities of that kind were hardly likely to be more purchasable in Ireland; meanwhile in the latter country places of domestick education were few and ill provided.

Want of places
of education.

From ancient writers of reputation and credit we are informed, that there were of old time schools or academies in Ireland, to which not natives only, but

University of
Armagh.

¹³ WARE's *Bishops*, pp. 82, 291.

¹⁴ LEWIS's *History of the Translations of the Bible*.

the British, Saxons, and Scots, resorted for education¹⁵. But in the comparatively modern times now under review, or the three or four centuries preceding the Reformation, these had for the most part passed away, with the exception of that of Armagh, the high estimation of which was attested by a synod of twenty-six bishops, convened by the primate in 1162, who decreed, that "no person for the time to come should be admitted a public reader in divinity, unless he had been a student, fostered or adopted by Armagh¹⁶." But this single institution was insufficient for the necessities of the country; and the places of others, which had fallen into decay, were not effectively supplied by new foundations, notwithstanding the attempts which had been occasionally made for that purpose.

Attempts to establish an university in Dublin;

Thus in 1310, John Lech, archbishop of Dublin, formed a plan for founding an university for scholars, in that city; and procured a bull from Pope Clement the Fifth, dated July 10, 1311. But the archbishop's death in 1313, before the project had been matured, prevented its execution¹⁷.

In 1320, the scheme was again undertaken by the succeeding archbishop, Alexander Bicknor, who renewed the foundation, and procured a confirmation of it from the Pope, John the Twenty-second. The instrument, which contains the rules for its government, by a chancellor and two proctors, is to be seen in WARE's *Antiquities of Ireland*, page 37; and a divinity lecture was afterwards instituted by King Edward the Third, and his protection extended to all students resorting to this university, "conscious,"

¹⁵ WARE's *Annals*, p. 36.

¹⁶ WARE's *Bishops*, page 60;

STUART's *History of Armagh*, pp.

140, 592.

¹⁷ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 330.

as his majesty expresses himself, "of the benefits arising from such studies, and especially as thereby virtue was propagated and peace maintained"¹⁸." But there appears to have been no provision of a special endowment; and thus, the maintenance of the scholars failing, the university, by degrees, came to nothing, though some traces of it remained in the time of King Henry the Eighth; for in the provincial synod, holden in Christ Church, Dublin, Walter Fitzsimons, then archbishop, the suffragan bishops, and the clergy of the province, granted certain stipends to be paid annually to the lecturers or readers of the university¹⁹.

In 1465 also, at a parliament, convened in Drogheda, by Thomas, earl of Desmond, an act was passed for founding an university in that town, and endowing it with privileges similar to those of the university of Oxford²⁰. The want, however, of sufficient revenues seems to have been fatal to this as to the former project.

And at Drogheda.

SECTION IV.

Monastick Institutions. Their number. Orders. Some of their Rulers Lords of Parliament. Monks and Friars, how distinguished from each other. False principles in the foundation of these establishments. Practical evil in them predominant over good.

SOME substitute for the defect of schools and universities was supplied by the monastick institutions, which were very numerous in Ireland; and had been at an early period much cherished and frequented, so that in the seventh century the monks had multi-

Great number of monastick institutions, at an early period.

¹⁸ *Rot. Pat.* 32 Edw. III., cited in MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 101.

¹⁹ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 311.

²⁰ *Stat. Roll*, 5 Edw. IV. LOUTS' MS. Marsh's Library.

plied to such an extent, as to have been supposed equal to all the other inhabitants of the kingdom. Such is the computation of Bishop Nicholson, as quoted by Archdall in the introduction to his "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," p. 11: which contains an account of above eleven hundred of these institutions; augmented by his subsequent inquiries, as stated in the introduction to GROSE's *Irish Antiquities*, p. 16, by about three hundred more. Of many of these, however, very little, not even the exact situation, is known; and many others had lost their monastick character, or had been incorporated with others, before the era of the Reformation.

Possible amount
of them at the
dissolution.

Sir James Ware, in his "*Annals*," enumerates three hundred and eighty-two, purposely omitting those which had been erected in the first times of the Church of Ireland, and were afterwards converted into parish churches; indeed, by far the greater number of those, which he enumerates, had been founded within three or four centuries of their dissolution, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. Several abbeys and monasteries, which had been omitted in this enumeration, were added, partly from records, and partly from subsequent writers, by Harris, in his edition of WARE's *History and Antiquities*; and he also supplied from records, as far as they gave light to the subject, the names of the grantees or assignees of the several monastick lands after the suppression. The catalogue thus supplied amounts to about five hundred and sixty-five, among which several of an early date are specified as having been made parish churches and bishops' sees, and several have no notice of their ultimate assignment. Thus the number of those, which were suppressed by King Henry the Eighth, according to this enumera-

tion, does not vary materially from Ware's enumeration of three hundred and eighty-two. Possibly this ought to be increased by the addition of some of those contained in ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*. Otherwise the sum of the monastick institutions in Ireland, at the period in question, falls short of four hundred.

These contained devotees of a variety of orders: Various monastick orders. Augustinians, Benedictines, and Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites; in the poet's language:

————— Eremites and friars,
White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery¹.

Of all the monastick establishments of Ireland, Augustinians. those of the Augustinian order were the most numerous: the more so in outward appearance, because the several monasteries, which had been founded in that country whilst the Irish Church continued to be independent of the Roman See, were required by Pope Innocent the Second, in the Lateran council of 1139, to submit to the rule of St. Augustine; so that they became afterwards reckoned among the institutions of that order. Inclusive of those, the houses for regular canons were two hundred and twenty, and for nuns sixty-five. However, exclusively of those, the monasteries of the regular canons of St. Augustine exceeded most others in number. And including the Aroasian canons, who Aroasians. were a branch of the Augustines, reformed about 1097, in Aroasia, an abbey in the diocese of Arras, they amounted at the dissolution to about seventy. At the same time, the houses of the nuns, or regular canonesses of the order, were about twenty.

Under the same general head of Augustinians, Victorines.

¹ MILTON'S *Paradise Lost*. B. iii. v. 474.

Premonstratensians.

Knights Hospitallers, or of St. John of Jerusalem.

Gilbertines.

Benedictines.

Cistercians.

Mendicant Friars.

Dominicans.

Franciscans.

came the regular canons of St. Victor, of whom little seems to be known; and the Premonstratensian, or White Canons, who derived their name from Premonstre, in the diocese of Laon, in Picardy. Of each of these there were about seven establishments at the dissolution. The military order of Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who succeeded to the possessions of the Knights Templars, on their abolition in 1312, also adopted the rule of St. Augustine: as did that of St. Gilbert, a rule composed of those of St. Augustine and St. Benedict. At the suppression there were about twenty-three establishments of the Knights of St. John: of the Gilbertines there was only one.

Of the Benedictine order there were about ten establishments of monks, and about half that number of nuns. The Cistercian, or, as it was also called, the Barnardine, being a reformed order of the Benedictines, comprised about forty institutions for men, who were likewise known by the appellation of White Monks. There appear to have been only two establishments for nuns of this order, which were dedicated, as usual in such cases of Cistercian nunneries to the Virgin Mary.

There were, also, the four orders of Mendicant or Begging Friars, bound, as their name imports, to live upon gratuitous contributions. These were, first, the Dominicans, so called from their founder, St. Dominic; or black friars, from the colour of their habit; or preaching friars, or predicants, from their chief professional occupation: their establishments were about forty.

Secondly, the Franciscans, whose establishments were about a hundred and fourteen. Their name,

likewise, was derived from their founder, St. Francis; and, from an affectation of humility, they termed themselves friars minor, and from the colour of their dresses they were named gray friars. Their rule of discipline, having been somewhat relaxed, had been brought back to its primitive severity; when they who preferred it in its relaxed state acquired the distinction of Conventuals, and they who admitted the stricter form were denominated Observantines: there was also another division, which was called the third order of St. Francis. Of the whole number of their brotherhoods, the Conventuals constituted about sixty-nine; and the Observantines, or strict order, about nine; and the remaining thirty-six were of the third order.

Thirdly, Carmelites, or White Friars, to the number of about twenty monasteries, denominated from Mount Carmel, the first abode of their order, or from the colour of their dress. Carmelites.

Lastly, Eremites of St. Augustine, or Austin Friars, as subject to the Augustine rule; and under the same rule, and sometimes identified with them, the Crossed or Crutched Friars, or Cross-bearers; the former having twenty-two, the latter fourteen houses: and with these may also be classified the Trinitarians, for the ransoming of Christians who were in captivity to Pagans; but of this order there appears to have been only one fraternity, which was likewise under the rule of St. Augustine. Austin Friars.

There were other denominations of monastick orders in England, and on the Continent: but the preceding comprise all such establishments in Ireland, unless it be the Friars *de Penitentie Jesu Christi*, also named the Sax Friars, of whom mention is once made in the reign of King Edward the Friars de Penitentie Jesu Christi.

Second, about the year 1330. This order was commenced in the year 1245; it appeared in England, in 1258, at Cambridge; and was transferred to Ireland, where it seems to have had one establishment in Dublin, in 1268. But it was of no long duration: in England it was condemned in 1307, and its houses passed to other fraternities, or to private persons; and in Ireland the traces of its existence are obscure and uncertain.

Several abbots,
&c., Lords of
Parliament.

Several of the rulers of these establishments possessed, upon summons, a place and a voice among the Lords of Parliament. Ware has particularly mentioned fourteen abbots and ten priors; but observes, that, as to their certain number, it is far short of what appears in the records. Of the episcopal vacancies, a large proportion was filled from the same quarter. Thus, of about twenty-six prelates who occupied the archiepiscopal see of Armagh in the three centuries before the Reformation, three had been previously abbots, and seven others inferior members of some regular religious community. After such elevation, they appear to have been fond of exhibiting an outward sign of attachment to their former society, by wearing the habit of their respective orders, such being the common practice of the bishops who had been so elevated: and the laying aside of the monastick dress was regarded as a scandalous act, and one which by the canons deserved censure of the greater excommunication; so that for such omission, at a Provincial Synod holden by the Archbishop of Armagh, in 1427, a Bishop of Down was called to account, and admonished to amend the scandal; and, on his neglect of the admonition, was peremptorily cited, in 1430, to

show cause why he should not be formally excommunicated².

The members of the different orders that have been recited occupied their several abodes of monasteries, abbeys, priories, friaries, convents, cells, preceptories, commanderies, hospitals, and nunneries. The different rules which regulated their dress, their diet, their habits, their modes of living, their occupations, their devotions, and other particulars, distinguished them from each other. One general distinction, however, prevailed between the monks and the friars: the essential difference seems to have been this, that whereas the monks possessed property, which belonged to them, however, in common, the friars had originally no property, either private or in common, but begged their subsistence from the charity of others; although eventually they likewise became proprietors of large possessions. In practice, also, the friars had more latitude, as to going about and preaching in their neighbouring parishes, whilst the monks were chiefly confined to their cloisters.

Distinction of orders.

Difference between monks and friars.

Of these institutions the four orders of mendicant friars were of comparatively modern introduction; being, as Archbishop Ussher says, "a kind of creatures unknown to the Church for twelve hundred years after Christ, and instituted contrary to the general Council of Lateran, held under Innocent the Third, which prohibited the bringing in of any more religious orders into the Church." And he thus describes their character after the example of one of his predecessors:—"Now there is started up a new generation of men, that refuse to eat their

Modern origin of the mendicant orders.

² WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 202, 415.

Character of
them by Arch-
bishop Fitz-
Ralph.

own bread, and count it a high point of sanctity to live by begging of other men's bread; if yet the course they take may rightly be termed begging. For, as Richard Fitz-Ralph, that famous archbishop of Armagh, objected to their faces, before the Pope himself and his cardinals in his time, (and the matter is little amended, I wiss, in our's,) 'scarce could any great or poor man of the clergy or the laity eat his meat, but such kind of beggars would intrude on him: not like other poor folks, humbly craving alms at the gate or door (as Francis commanded and taught them in his testament,) by begging; but without shame introducing themselves into courts or houses, and lodging there, where, without any invitation, they eat and drink what they find among them: and not content with such conduct, carry away with them either wheat or meal, or bread, or flesh, or cheese, (although there were but two in an house,) in an extorting manner; there being no one who can refuse their petitions unless he would divest himself of natural shame"^b

Early forms of
monachism
degenerated.

Meanwhile the early forms of monachism, which the ecclesiastical historians of Ireland are fond of connecting with the first introduction of Christianity into the country, were, with many modifications and innovations on the original plan, and with new constitutions, and under new denominations, perpetuated in the monasteries, which had greatly degenerated from their prototypes; and with a portion of the good, originally contemplated by the primitive institutions, mingled, in the lapse of time, a larger share of concomitant evil.

Monastick insti-
tutions deemed
meritorious.

The principle, indeed, which actuated the foundation and maintenance of these institutions, as it

^b *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 53.

continually shows itself in the terms of their endowments, was essentially faulty and mischievous: for they were considered as treasures of merit, propitiatory offerings, whereby their founders and benefactors might expiate the sins and purchase the salvation, not of themselves only, but of others whom they might comprise with them in their deed of gift; whether dead, living, or not yet born. Of this principle profession is continually made in a very usual form of expression, whereby the gift is said to be granted "for the health of the soul" of the granter, and of those of his family and friends, or his official predecessors or successors.

For example, in 1178, William Fitz-Andelm gave, on the king's part, to the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, recently founded by him, certain lands "for the health of the souls of Geoffry, earl of Anjou, father to the king, his mother the empress, and all his ancestors, and for the king himself and his sons;" and in 1180, "Felix, bishop of Lismore, for the health of the soul of the king, and his son John, and also of his own, did grant to this priory the church of St. John in Lismore, paying two candles of wax, each weighing two pounds, yearly⁴."

Examples of this false principle at different times.

1178.

1180.

In 1200, "Johanna, countess of Pembroke, for the health of the souls of her father, Earl Richard, and her lord, William Mariscall, bestowed on the Priory of the Holy Trinity certain tithes for the support of one canon to say masses for their souls⁵."

1200.

In the same year, Walter de Lacie granted a piece of land to St. Thomas's Abbey, "in pure and perpetual alms, for the health of his soul, and of Hugh his father, and of his mother, Rose de Munemene, who lies buried in the church⁶."

1200.

⁴ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 178. ⁵ *Ib.*, p. 152. ⁶ *Ib.*, p. 131.

1206.

Theobald, the son of Walter, butler of Ireland, who died in 1206, confirmed to God and the blessed Virgin, and certain monks of the Cistercian order, all his possessions in Arklow, "for the love of God and the blessed Virgin, and for the health of the souls of Henry the Second, king of England, King Richard, and King John, and those of Runulph de Glainvill, Earl William Mareschal, the Lord Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, his (Theobald's) brother, Hervey Fitzwalter, his father, Matilda, his mother, and for his own soul and that of his wife, Matilda⁷."

1207.

Roger de Pippard, lord of Atherdee, founded an hospital there for croutched friars, in 1207, "for the health of his own soul, and the souls of his wife Alicia, his father William, his mother Joan, and his brethren Gilbert and Peter⁸."

1216.

Milo le Bret, "for the health of his soul, and the souls of Lord Hugh Tyrrel, and his sons Roger and Richard," made grants in 1216 to the Priory of the Holy Trinity⁹.

1230.

In 1230, Geoffrey de Tureville assigned two marks out of certain lands to the priest who, in the same priory, "should daily say a mass at the new altar of the blessed Virgin, for the health of his own soul and those of his friends¹⁰."

1374.

The "great expence and burden of supporting divers chaplains and clerks, to say divine offices for the king's health and for the souls of his ancestors," was assigned, in 1374, as a ground for certain immunities granted by King Edward the Third to the priory of St. John the Baptist, Dublin¹¹.

1490.

The monastery of the Dominican friars at Cashel

⁷ ARCHDALL, p. 759.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 445.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 155.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 156.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 203.

having been destroyed by fire in 1480, it was rebuilt by the Archbishop John Cantwell; and the instrument for its re-erection declared, "That all persons assisting and agreeing to this new foundation should be brethren and sisters of the order; and should partake of all masses, prayers, sermons, vigils, and other good deeds of the brotherhood throughout the kingdom in this life, and afterwards they should enjoy eternal happiness¹²."

In 1484, the Archbishop of Dublin having released certain contested rights to the priory of Holmpatrick, it was ordered that "the said convent should keep yearly an anniversary for the archbishop and his successors, on the morrow of All Souls, by singing a placebo and a dirige¹³."

1484.

And in 1513, Gerald, earl of Kildare, by his last will, "bequeathed his best gown of cloth of gold and purple, to make dresses for the priests of the priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin; he also bequeathed to the prior and canons the town of Caparaw, with its appurtenances, for the support of the canon who should celebrate mass for the health of his soul; and pray for the soul of Thomas Plunket, sometime Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the souls of all the faithful. A yearly commemoration, with an office of nine lessons, was appointed for the earl¹⁴."

1513.

But examples of the avowed operation of this principle of imaginary merit, on behalf of founders, benefactors, their friends, their ancestors, and their posterity, are beyond number: and a few only have been cited almost at random during a succession of ages, and under various modes of application.

Another pernicious departure from the truth Derogatory to

¹² ARCHDALL, p. 647.¹³ *Ib.*, p. 219.¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 168.

the honour of
God.

attended the foundation of these establishments, consisting in the confusion which was introduced between the claims of the divine Being and those of his creatures, and even of the works of his creatures' hands. A monastery was wont to be placed under the guardianship of a chosen protector, "under the invocation," for such was the phrase, of this or that particular patron. The patronage of the Godhead, however, was not accounted sufficient, but was seconded or superseded by that of a sainted mortal or deified stock of wood.

Monasteries
founded under
the invocation
of the Deity;

Thus, for example: whilst the Franciscan monastery at Clonkeen, and that of the Augustinian eremites at Inistormor, were "under the invocation of the Holy Trinity;" and that of the Dominican friars at Arklow, "under the invocation of the Holy Ghost;" two chantries or chapels in the church of Callan were founded "under the invocation of the Holy Trinity and St. Catherine;" and the Augustinian priory at Aghrim, "under the invocation of St. Catherine" alone¹⁵.

And of other
patrons;

Of the Virgin
Mary;

Examples of foundations, made "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary," are the most frequent. Such were the monasteries of regular canons at Navan and at Killagh, and the nunnery of regular canonesses at Termon-Fechan; the Cistercian abbeys of Fermoy, of Shrute, and of Bectiff; to which may be added the Cistercian monastery of Gray Abbey, remarkable for being "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, of the Yoke of God;" the Dominican friary of Larishoel, and the Carmelite friaries of Clara and of Frankford, were also "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary." The priory of regular canons at Great Conall was devoted to a joint

¹⁵ ARCHDALL, pp. 281, 502, 759, 849, 270.

patronage, being "under the invocation of the Virgin Mary and St. David¹⁶."

"Under the invocation," severally "of St. John, Of various saints; St. Peter, and St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, Mary Magdalen, St. Columba, St. Brigid, and St. Edmund the King and Martyr," were founded the Augustine hospital for cross-bearers, or crouched friars at Ardee; the Augustine abbey for regular canons at Clare; the Augustine hospital for crouched friars at Kells; and the priory of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Kilmainham, the abbey of regular canons at Mayo; the Dominican friary at Drogheda; the priory of regular canons at Monaincha; the monastery of the black nuns of St. Augustine at Moylagh; and the priory of canons regular at Athassel¹⁷.

The two Dominican friaries of Tralee and Sligo, Of the Cross. and the Franciscan friary of Strade, were foundations "under the invocation of the Holy Cross¹⁸."

No incidental good, arising out of these institutions, could have compensated for the essential evil inflicted on religious truth by prominently professing these principles, as the motives and objects of monastick endowments. But in truth, there was no small portion of practical evil also interwoven intrinsically with whatever incidental good they may have occasioned. Preponderance of evil over good.

On a general view they militated against God's purpose in the creation of man; for whatever may be pleaded in favour of celibacy under particular aspects, and in particular circumstances, it was not Opposition to the divine will and law.

¹⁶ ARCHDALL, pp. 558, 304, 491, 69, 436, 516, 120, 498, 396, 318.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 446, 43, 548, 222, 505, 455, 667, 669, 640.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 307, 637, 509.

according to the Divine will, that a very large proportion of human kind should be shut up in cloistered seclusion; bound by indissoluble obligations to abstain from honourable marriage, the first law of man's Creator: and precluded from exercising the duties, the virtues, and the charities of social and domestick life.

Practical effects.

Further, if regard be had to their particular operation, and to the effects which practically they produced, the evil greatly preponderated. For, whilst on the one hand they may have been instrumental in producing habits of labour and industry; on the other, they gave encouragement to inactivity and indolence, luxury and self-indulgence in their inmates, leaving to the parochial clergy, the vicars who were charged with the care of the parishes, a very disproportionate share of emolument, and seeking to lower them in publick estimation. Whilst in some cases, under wholesome laws steadily enforced, they may have assisted a spirit of devotion, and corresponding holiness and chastity of life; in others, under a system faulty in itself, or faultily administered, they led to the substitution of outward mortification for inward sanctity, gave occasion to hypocrisy, spiritual pride, and vain glory, or induced usages of intemperance, licentiousness, and impurity. Whilst in some cases, by the exercise of a free hospitality and bounty, they may have contributed to the relief of the traveller and the stranger, in need of temporary aid; and been the means of sustaining the sufferer under honest poverty and unavoidable distress; in others the promiscuous dispensation of their doles supported only those, who did not need, or did not deserve it, and was lavished in perpetuating the indigence, with its concomitant

vices, which they themselves had made. Whilst in some cases, they afforded a refuge for the sick, the infirm, and the afflicted, they in others were privileged sanctuaries for criminals, and encouragers of crime. Whilst in some cases they may have laid the foundation of useful learning, of philosophy and divinity, in others they only filled the mind with legendary tales, and the creations of a fond imagination. Whilst in some cases they may have preserved and dispensed what remained of the knowledge of God, and true religion, in others they only more firmly established the reign of false doctrine and superstition; and were especially instrumental in maintaining the corrupt views and deceitful usages, which at those times overloaded the Church's profession of Christianity.

Some of those views and usages shall now be specified, as enabling us better to understand the religious condition of Ireland during the centuries at present under review.

SECTION V.

Superstitions prevailing in the Church. Veneration for Saints. Traditionary Legends. Modes of celebrating Divine Worship. Veneration for outward signs of the Holy Communion. Canonization of Saints. Reverence for their reliques. Reverence for other sorts of reliques. Reverence for crosses and images. Belief in fictitious miracles.

AMONG the superstitions which superseded true religion in the Irish Church, and showed themselves in the conduct and marked the character of the people, the following are the most conspicuous. They do not materially differ from those which pre-

Prevailing superstitions.

vailed at the same period in England, and in other parts of Papal Christendom: but they are needful to be specified here for the purpose of impressing on the reader that Ireland was not exempt from the general contagion.

Veneration of
saints.

God's honour
given to his crea-
tures.

1. The inordinate veneration of saints was carried to such an extent, as to associate them on the most solemn occasions with the Godhead, as if they were partakers of the Divine nature and attributes. Thus, not to insist upon the ordinary and well-known Offices of the Church, upon the erection of the building, which afterwards became one of the cathedrals of Dublin, the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, together with the Pope's legate, in 1191, consecrated the new edifice with great pomp and ceremony "to God, our Blessed Lady Mary, and St. Patrick".

1191.
1220. In 1220, Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, made certain grants to the said church, which he described as "devoted to God, and Saint Mary, and the Blessed Peter, and the Blessed Patrick, our patron".

1202. In 1202, a priory was founded by William de Burgh, in the country of Antrim, "to the honour of God and the Virgin Mary". And about 1220, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, founded an abbey at Kilkenny "in honour of God and St. John".

1432. In 1432, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, decreed certain ordinances for some of the officers of the church, "to the honour of God the Father Almighty, and of the glorious Virgin his Mother

¹ MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 2.

² MASON, *App.* p. xxxvi.

³ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 11.

⁴ GROSE'S *Irish Antiquities*, i.

the Blessed Mary, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of our patron Saint Patrick⁵."

John Alleyn, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, by his will, in 1505, "committed his sinful soul to the grace and mercy of Jesus Christ, the Maker and Redeemer of him and of all mankind; and to the most blessed Virgin Mary, his Mother; and to all Saints⁶."

1505.

And, in 1515, a bull, addressed to the Bishops of Meath, Waterford, and Leighlin, by Pope Leo the Tenth, denounces upon every one who shall infringe it, "the indignation of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Peter and Paul, his Apostles⁷."

1515.

2. Traditionary legends of the most palpable falsehood, in default or rivalry of Scriptural knowledge, were taught for the religious instruction of the people.

Traditionary legends.

Of these, the two following may serve for specimens: the former being an account of a prophetic vision, witnessed by St. Patrick, of the future condition of the Irish Church; the latter, a narrative of the conquest of another saint over the Prince of Darkness.

The former of these is copied from a "*History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern, taken from the most authentick Records*, by the ABBÉ MAC GEOHEGAN; published at Paris, in 1758, under the authority of the King of France, and dedicated to the Irish Brigade. Translated from the French by P. O'Kelly, late Professor of Languages in the city of Versailles. Dublin, 1831." "St. Patrick," says Joceline, as quoted by the Abbé, "filled with apprehensions for

A vision of St. Patrick.

⁵ MASON, App. p. xxxiv.⁶ *Ib.*, p. xiv.⁷ *Ib.*, p. xviii.

Future state of
the church
supernaturally
revealed to him.

the church he had founded, offered up a fervent prayer to God, to know what its destiny would be in future ages. The Lord, having heard his prayer, first presented to his view an island, as if all on fire, and covered with a flame which raised itself to the skies: he afterwards beheld only the tops of the mountains burning. Those first visions may be applied to the four first ages of Christianity in this island, when religion was still in all its splendour. But the eclipse, occasioned by the incursions of the barbarians of the north in the ninth and tenth centuries, is strongly represented by the darkness, which, according to the vision, had succeeded to the light, and by the thinly-scattered sparks which the saint beheld in the valleys, and the still lighted coals which lay concealed beneath the ashes. The light which the apostle saw coming from the north, and which, after dispelling the darkness, lighted the whole island, implies the re-establishment of religion after the expulsion of the Danes; which that author ascribes to the zeal of the learned Celse, otherwise, Celestine, Ceallach, or, in the language of the country, Kellach, who was Archbishop of Armagh in the beginning of the twelfth century, and of his successor St. Malachi^a."

A miracle of
St. Neesan.

The latter legend is cited by the modern historian of St. Patrick's Cathedral from the Register of John Alan, the last Archbishop of Dublin before the Reformation, and it is said to have been written with the archbishop's own hand. Mr. Mason adds, that this story of Satan flying from the holy man, and escaping into the earth at Puck's Rock, is preserved among the neighbouring people by tradition.

^a MAC GEOHEGAN'S *Hist.* vol. i. p. 457.

It seems that on an island, called "Ireland's Eye," not far from the main land, a monastery was founded, in 570, by St. Nesson, thence denominated St. Nesson's Isle in the Bull of Pope Alexander the Third, which was issued in 1179. Alluding to this island, the archbishop describes it as the spot "where that holy man, St. Nesson, was instant in frequent prayers, fasting and watching. In which place," he continues, "there appeared to him the evil spirit in the form of a very black man, whom with some indignation he pursued, with hyssop full of holy water; walking over the sea for the space of about a mile, and bidding the Devil to enter the rock at a place which is called Howth, where that hill is vulgarly named 'Powkes-rock,' and outside is seen his image in stone of a very common appearance. Where it is related, that, at the time when he put the devil to flight, there fell into the sea his own book of the Gospel, called by the inhabitants 'The Keslowre,' which afterwards being found by sailors uninjured, it has thenceforth, and to this day, been there held in great value, and no common veneration: so that scarce a religious man dares to swear upon it, on account of the vengeance of God hitherto manifested on men, who have sworn on it falsely".

His personal
defeat of the
evil spirit.

But these, perhaps, may be regarded as mere private tales. One, therefore, shall be added from the authorised publick services of the Church. It relates to a very distinguished Irish saint; and is taken from the supplement annexed to the Roman Breviary, and containing proper offices commemorative of certain of the saints of Ireland, published by the

printer and bookseller of the Royal College of Maynooth, Dublin, 1808.

Miraculous
legend of
St. Bridget,
or Brigid.

“Brigid,” says the lesson for the 1st of February, being the festival of St. Brigid, virgin, patroness of Ireland, “Brigid, a holy virgin of the province of Leinster, in Ireland, born of noble and Christian parents, became the mother of many holy virgins in Christ. When she was yet a little infant, her father saw men, clothed in white garments, pour oil upon her head, thus prefiguring the future purity and holiness of the virgin. Arriving at the first years of childhood, she so earnestly, from the bottom of her heart, clung to Christ the Saviour, whom she chose for her spouse, that, for love of him, she expended on the poor whatever she could acquire. And lest the suitors, by many of whom, on account of her incomparable beauty, she was sought in marriage, should compel her to break the vow of virginity, by which she had bound herself to God, she prayed God to make her deformed, and presently she was heard; for one of her eyes immediately became swollen, and her whole face was so altered, that she was permitted to send back a message to her suitors, and to consecrate her virginity to Christ by a solemn vow.

Her miraculous
deformity.

“Having then taken to her three maidens, she proceeded forth to the Bishop Macheas, St. Patrick’s disciple, who seeing over her head a pillar of fire, put on her a shining vest, and a white robe, and having read holy prayers, admitted her to the canonical profession, which the blessed Patrick had introduced into Ireland. Whereupon, whilst she was stooping her head to receive the sacred veil, when she had touched with her hand the wood at the foot of the altar, that dry wood, on a sudden, became green again, and her eye was healed, and her face

Miraculous resto-
ration of her
former beauty.

restored to its pristine beauty. And afterwards, by her example, such a multitude of maidens embraced that institution of a regular life, that in a short time, it filled all Ireland with convents of virgins: amongst which that, over which Brigid herself presided, was the chief, and on that as their head, all the rest depended.

“ Moreover the holiness of this virgin is attested by the miracles wrought by her both during her life, and after its termination. For oftentimes she cleansed lepers, and, by her prayers, procured health for those who were afflicted with various infirmities; yea, she also gave sight to a man blind from his birth. And when Bishop Broon was falsely accused, by an unchaste woman that she was with child by him, by making the sign of the cross on the mouth of the new-born infant, who thereupon announced his real father, she rescued the accused from calumny. Nor was she wanting in the spirit of prophecy, whereby she foretold many future things, as if they were present. To St. Patrick, also, the apostle of the Irish, to whom she was joined in the most holy intimacy, she foreshowed the day of his departure from this life, and the place of his burial, and was present at his departure, and gave him a linen cloth, which she had prepared beforehand for swathing his body. At length, yielding up her beautiful soul to her spouse Christ, she was buried in the same tomb with the blessed Patrick.”

Miracles performed by her.

Her spirit of prophecy.

3. For the scriptural and primitive modes of worship, publick prayers, and the ministration of the sacraments, were celebrated in an unknown tongue, with the inventions of a fond imagination.

Celebration of divine worship.

Some of these are described feelingly and for-

Remnants of
Romish superstition
in 1552.

cibly, but, as it should seem, not untruly, by Bishop Bale, who, on his arrival in Ireland in 1552, found the remnants of the Romish superstition still in operation, notwithstanding the progress of the Reformation, and thus speaks of the religious rites which first fell under his notice in Waterford.

“In beholding the face and order of that city, I saw many abominable idolatries maintained by the priests for their worldly interests. The communion, or supper of the Lord, was there altogether used like a popish mass, with the old apish toys of antichrist, in bowings and beckonings, kneelings and knockings. . . . There wailed they over their dead with prodigious howlings and patterings, as though their souls had not been quieted in Christ, and redeemed by his passion, but that they must come after, and help at a pinch with *requiem eternam*, to deliver them out of hell by their sorrowful sorceries.” And when, by the removal of the restraint imposed by the Reformation under King Edward the Sixth, the former observances revived, and “the clergy resumed again the whole possession, or heap of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome,” “they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy water-stocks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession, most gorgeously, all the town over, with ‘*Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*,’ and the rest of the Latin Liturgy; they again deceived the people as aforetime, with their Latin mumblings; they made the witless sort believe that they could make, every day, new gods of their little white cakes, and that they could fetch their friends’ souls from flaming purgatory, if need be, with other great miracles else¹⁰.”

Add particularly the manner of celebrating the

Manner of celebrating mass.

¹⁰ BALE'S *Vocacyon*.

mass. "Of all occupations," says the same writer, "methinks it is the most foolish ; for there standeth the priest disguised, like one that would show some conveyance or juggling play. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the wall in a foreign language. If he turn his face to them, it is either to receive the offering, either to desire them to give him a good word, with *Ora pro me, fratres*, (Pray for me, brethren,) for he is a poor brother of theirs ; either to bid them God speed, with *Dominus vobiscum* (the Lord be with you), for they get no part of his banquet ; either else to bless them with the bottom of the cup, with *Benedictio Dei* (the blessing of God), when all the breakfast is done."

4. The veneration for the outward signs of the sacrament of our Lord's Supper was shown, not only by the lifting up and worshipping of the sacramental bread in the celebration of the mass, but by solemn exhibitions of it in publick processions, amid a concourse of gazing votaries, and with all the pomp and circumstance of the most superstitious observances.

Religious processions ;

These processions were wont to be conducted on several occasions, with much imposing pageantry : both in the case of the holy sacrament, which was carried about among numerous appendages of banners, crosses, torches, censers, and vessels of frankincense, so as to attract the reverence of the people ; and in that of biers, which held the reliques of saints, and which were brought before the attention of the publick on certain festivals, as the days of Rogation, Palms, and Corpus Christi, for soliciting and collecting alms towards the rebuilding of churches, or the supply of other necessities. A publication of curious extracts from the proctor's accounts of the

Of the holy sacrament ;

Of reliques.

receipts and disbursements of money for St. Patrick's Cathedral¹¹; in the year 1509, contained in Mason's history of that church, records certain payments made to the persons employed in those processions, as well as for the sacramental bread and wine, and the other exigencies of the Church.

Carrying of the
host through the
kingdom.
1156.

In connexion with these processions may be mentioned the enterprise of Turlogh, monarch of Ireland in 1156, who caused the host to be carried with great solemnity to the abbey of Roscommon, through the kingdom, attended by a large concourse of clergy and other religious men: and there to be deposited in a tabernacle prepared for it of immense value¹².

Canonization of
saints.

5. The canonization of saints, whereby, after the example and in the manner of the ancient heathens' apotheosis, or deification of their heroes, favoured individuals were declared worthy, after their death, of publick honour and veneration in the Popish Church, was a ceremony observed in the Church of Ireland.

St. Malachy.

Thus, for the first time, this distinction was conferred in the twelfth century upon Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, whose claims upon the gratitude of the Papal See have already been mentioned; and who, having been the first of the Irish hierarchy to submit the independent Church of his own country to the authority of the Bishop of Rome, may have been well thought entitled to be the first to receive from him in recompense the distinction of a canonized saint¹³. And soon after, Laurence O'Toole,

St. Laurence
O'Toole.

¹¹ MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, Appendix; pp. xxix, xxxi. No. XVII.

¹² ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 619.

¹³ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 31.

archbishop of Dublin, was admitted to the same honour by Pope Honorius the Third¹⁴. "The holy prelate," says a modern Romanist historian, "fell sick in the town of Eu, where he died in the odour of sanctity, on the 14th of November, 1180, and was interred in the church of Our Lady in that city. . . . The miracles which God wrought by his intercession, both before and after his death, induced Pope Honorius the Third to place him amongst the number of saints, 1225, by a bull, dated the third of the ides of December, and the tenth year of his pontificate. . . . The reliques of this saint were removed to Dublin, and deposited in the cathedral of the Holy Trinity¹⁵." After this event, a chapel, adjoining the high choir in the cathedral, previously dedicated to the Holy Ghost, was dedicated to the canonized archbishop, and called St. Laurence O'Toole's chapel; as the name of the cathedral church of Down, originally consecrated to the Holy and Blessed Trinity, and so denominated, was, on its transformation into a Benedictine monastery in 1183, changed to the name of St. Patrick, to whom, on that occasion, it was dedicated¹⁶.

6. The veneration for saints was transmitted to their reliques or mortal remains.

Veneration for
reliques.

The above-named St. Laurence O'Toole having died in Normandy, some of his bones, as already noticed, were translated to the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin: as those of the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Fitz-Ralph, commonly called St. Richard of Dundalk, those, at least, which passed for

Their translation
from one place
to another.

¹⁴ WARE, p. 313.

¹⁵ ABBÉ MAC GEOHEGAN'S *History of Ireland*, v. i. p. 175.

¹⁶ HARRIS'S *History of the County of Down*, p. 27.

his, for, as Pembrige observes, "it is yet a question whether they were his bones, or another man's¹⁷," were conveyed about 1360 from Avignon, the place of his death, to Dundalk, the place of his birth, where they were deposited in a monument in the parish church: and as those of St. Malachy in 1194 had near fifty years after his death been translated from Clareval, where he was interred, and deposited with great reverence and devotion in the abbey of Mellifont, and other monasteries of the Cistercian order¹⁸.

Specification of
distinguished
reliques.

In a chapter held at Louth, in 1242, by Albert of Cologne, archbishop of Armagh, at which were present all the abbots and priors of regular canons in the kingdom, the veneration of the people was excited by an exhibition of many reliques of saints brought from Rome by St. Mochtra. The abbey of Ardboe derived particular sanctity from its preservation of the remains of St. Colman, as did that of Roscommon from the shrine which contained the reliques of its founder; and the interment of St. Ibar, in the monastery of Begery, procured the like esteem for the place, where his reliques continued to be honoured. The hand of St. Rundhan, preserved in a silver case in the abbey of Lorrain, and a piece of a bone of one of St. Kieran's hands in the cathedral of Clonmacnois, sufficed for impressing on each a stamp of peculiar reverence; and a single tooth of St. Patrick gave a name and dignity to the church of Clonfeakle, "the Church," as the name signifies, "of the Tooth¹⁹." Minute portions of the mortal remains of these holy men were deposited in various

¹⁷ *Annals of Ireland*. App. to
CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, M.CCC.IX.

¹⁸ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 57.

¹⁹ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, pp.
678, 619, 733, 667, 33. WARE,
p. 166.

places, and cherished with reverential regard. We are informed by a modern Romanist writer, that on the translation of the reliques of St. Malachi to the abbey of Mellifont, "particles of them were distributed to the different Cistercian monasteries"²⁰.

Of the veneration, which was at this period thought due to the mortal remains of saints, an instance may be given, as supplied by a transaction in the life of St. Malachy, about the middle of the twelfth century. The transaction shall be related, word for word, as it is given in a work composed for the instruction of the Irish students of the Romish Church, and entitled "*An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, from the Introduction of Christianity into that country, to the commencement of the tenth century.*" By Rev. P. J. CAREW, Professor of Divinity, Royal College, Maynooth."

Veneration for
reliques remark-
ably exemplified.

"During the incursions of the Danes," says the Professor of Divinity, "the remains of St. Brigid and St. Columba were, as we here see, transferred to Down, and placed in the same grave with those of the illustrious apostle of Ireland. The memory of this event was indeed faithfully preserved; but the recollection of the particular spot, where the sacred reliques of those three holy personages lay, became gradually obliterated from the minds both of the clergy and people. It would seem probable, that care had been taken to confine the knowledge of this circumstance to a few persons only: for had it been generally disseminated throughout the country, it must, in a short time, have reached the Danes, whose savage impiety appeared particularly to delight in dishonouring the reliques of the saints.

Unknown burial-
place of St. Pa-
trick, St. Brigid,
and St. Columba.

"The extraordinary veneration which St. Mala-

²⁰ MAC GEORGEHAN'S *History*, v. i. p. 193.

Discovered by
supernatural
revelation to St.
Malachy.

chy entertained for St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba, made him anxious to discover the grave where the bodies of those holy persons reposed. But every effort which his ingenuity could devise proved unavailing, for no memorial remained which could assist him in the inquiry. All human means having failed, the good bishop had recourse to prayer; and with a holy importunity he earnestly besought God to make known to him the place in which the earthly remains of those three distinguished favourites of heaven were deposited. The prayer of the venerable prelate was at length favourably heard. On a certain night, while he offered up in the church his fervent petition to the Almighty, a ray of light, like a sunbeam, was seen by him to pass along the church, until it reached a particular part of the temple, when it ceased to advance. Persuaded that heaven had chosen this mode to reveal to him the subject which he so ardently desired to know, St. Malachy caused the place to which his attention had been thus drawn, to be immediately examined. His exertions were rewarded with the success which they so well deserved; for when the earth was removed, the bodies of the three saints were found deposited together in the same grave. By the bishop's direction the precious remains were then raised up, and placed in coffins which he had provided for them. As soon as this ceremony was completed, the bodies were consigned to the same tomb. De Courcy, the Lord of Down, being informed by the bishop of what had taken place, it was resolved that messengers should be sent to the Holy See to solicit permission to remove these sacred reliques from the grave where they reposed, to a more honourable part of the church.

Removed to a
more honourable
grave by Papal
authority.

Urban the Third then filled St. Peter's chair; and it happened that De Courey and St. Malachy were both personally known to him. That pontiff received their petition favourably, and immediately ordered Vivian, the Cardinal Priest of St. Stephen, to repair to Ireland, and assist at the celebration of the intended ceremony. The day fixed for the performance of the sacred rite was that on which the Church honours the memory of St. Columba. On that day the venerable remains of the three most illustrious saints of Ireland were accordingly transported, with the usual solemnities, to the place which had been prepared for them. At the ceremony, fifteen bishops and a numerous assemblage of other ecclesiastics attended; and in order that the memory of this interesting event might be preserved, they ordained that the anniversary of the translation should be kept thenceforward as a solemn festival throughout the churches of Ireland."

Pope's festival in commemoration thereof.

7. Other sorts of reliques partook of the veneration shown to the mortal remains of saints.

Veneration for other sorts of reliques.

Among these may be mentioned the mitre, the crosier, and some of the vestments of St. Cormac, which belonged to the church of the Franciscan monastery at Thurles²¹; the mitre of St. Ailbe, preserved for many ages, with great veneration, in the abbey of Enly; the bells of St. Senan, St. Nenn, and St. Evin, preserved respectively in the islands of Inniscattery, and Tuis M'Saint, and in the abbey of Monasterevan; and the pastoral staffs of St. Finchu in Brigoun, and St. Muran in Fahan, richly ornamented with jewels and gilding; all of which were held to be endowed with miraculous powers,

²¹ GROSE'S *Irish Antiq.*, ii, 85.

and used for the common people to swear by²²,—an oath as recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis in 1185, esteemed much more binding than one upon the holy Gospels²³.

The Staff of
Jesus;

But the most distinguished of these was the supposed crosier of St. Patrick, commonly known by the name of “the staff of Jesus,” and held in the greatest respect; not only on account of the belief that it had been used by the apostle of Ireland, but from the traditionary legend which connected it with our Saviour himself. No mention is made of this by the saint’s most ancient biographers; but the following is the history of this celebrated staff, as delivered by Joceline, in 1185:—

Miraculous do-
nation of it to
St. Patrick;

“St. Patrick, moved by divine instinct, or angelick revelation, visited one Justus, an ascetick, who inhabited an island in the Tyrrhene sea, a man of exemplary virtue and most holy life. After mutual salutations and discourse, he presented the Irish apostle with a staff, which he averred he had received from the hands of Jesus Christ himself. In this island were some men in the bloom of youth, and others who appeared aged and decrepit; St. Patrick, conversing with them, found that these aged persons were the sons of the seemingly young. Astonished at this miraculous appearance, he was told, that from their infancy they had served God; that they were constantly employed in works of charity, and their doors were open to the traveller and distressed; that one night a stranger came to them, with a staff in his hand, and they accommodated him to the best of their power; that in the morning he blessed them and said, ‘I am Jesus Christ, whom you have always faithfully served, but last night you received

²² ARCHDALL, pp. 656, 50, 262, 333, 58, 99.

²³ GROSE, ii. 25.

me in my proper person.' He then gave his staff to their spiritual father, with directions to deliver it to a stranger named Patrick, who would shortly visit them; 'in saying this he ascended into heaven, and left us in that state of juvenility in which you behold us; and our sons, then young, are the old decrepit persons you now see.'" Joceline goes on to relate that with this staff our apostle collected every venomous creature in the inland to the top of the mountain of Cruagh Phadraig, in the county of Mayo, and then precipitated them into the ocean²⁴.

"When St. Malachy became primate," as related by an author lately cited²⁵, "Nigellus, who had usurped the primatial see, carried the staff away from Armagh; and such was the importance attached to the possession of it, that many persons in consequence adhered to the usurper. But Nigellus did not retain it long; it was again restored to Armagh," where it was made an object of superstitious veneration. In the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, in 1179, during a pillage of the city and abbey, it was stolen and carried to Dublin; a theft of such great importance in the estimation of that superstitious age, as to merit a record in the annals of the country, as the breaking of it had been recorded on a former occasion in 1027²⁶. Having then been presented to the cathedral of the Blessed Trinity, it was there preserved with reverential care, being the subject of a miracle on occasion of a great tempest in 1461; when the chest, which contained the staff of Jesus and other reliques, being broken to pieces by the falling-in of the east window, the staff was found lying, without the least damage, on

Its imputed
value;

The subject of a
miracle.

²⁴ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 150. ²⁵ CAREW'S *Eccles. Hist.*

²⁶ ARCHDALL, p. 21.

the top of the rubbish; but the other reliques were entirely buried under it. And there it remained till the suppression of the monasteries; and in 1538 was removed from thence with the other reliques, and in the publick high street destroyed by fire²⁷.

Pieces of the
true cross in
Ireland.

A piece of the true cross, also, was preserved in several places with religious veneration. One of these had been presented by Pope Pascal the Second about 1110 to Murtogh, monarch of Ireland, and gave occasion for his founding, near Thurles, a Cistercian abbey, with the name, and in honour, of the "Holy Cross²⁸." Another piece of it, which was presented to the Cistercian abbey of Tracton, in the county of Cork, by Barry Oge, in 1380, became there the object of popular devotion²⁹. Another was preserved in the neighbourhood of Dublin; for in a contest between two competitors for the priory of Kilmainham in 1482, it is related that one had been deprived by the great master of the order, under an accusation of pawning or selling divers ornaments of the house, particularly a piece of the cross³⁰.

Veneration for
crosses and
images.

8. Crosses of stone, and images, were dispersed generally over the country, and made objects of special reverence, and treated with all the outward demonstrations of religious worship. Out of the vast variety of each of these, a few individual instances may be selected.

Specimens of
images, favour-
ite objects of
idolatry.

As a specimen of the general propensity to this idolatrous form of religion, it may be briefly noticed, that the walls of St. Patrick's cathedral in Dublin contained several niches, which the superstition of the times furnished with images of saints³¹. Parti-

²⁷ WARBURTON'S *Hist. of Dublin*, vol. i. 181.

²⁸ GROSE'S *Antiq.*, i. 67.

²⁹ SMITH'S *Hist. of Cork*, i. 218.

³⁰ COX, i. 177.

³¹ MASON, p. 8.

cular images are occasionally mentioned, as of St. John the Baptist, in the priory which bore his name in Dublin³²; of St. Dominick, in the monastery of the Dominican Friars at Cork³³; of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba, over the east window of the cathedral church of Down³⁴; and of St. Patrick, in his pontifical habiliments, and St. Francis and St. Dominick in the habits of their respective orders, over the northern door of the principal church of Clonmacnois. Below these were portraits of the same three saints³⁵.

Not to venture, however, on an extended exemplification of general image-worship, it may suffice to specify a few instances from the chief class of Christian idolatry, as practised in Ireland; and to observe that the image of our blessed Saviour in the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, Dublin, and that of his virgin mother in the same cathedral, the latter wearing a crown, which was borrowed for the purpose of crowning Lambert Simnell in 1487, when he assumed the character of the murdered Richard, duke of York; another beautiful image of the Virgin with the child Jesus in her arms, in the abbey of the same city, which bore her name; another in the abbey of Trim, and another in that of Irrelagh, and another in the Dominican monastery of Youghal, all gifted with miraculous endowments; and another of the same character at Kilcorban; are distinguished examples of the reverence paid to images. Concerning the last of these, namely, that which was worshipped in the chapel, called the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of the

Images of our
blessed Lord,
and the Virgin
Mary.

³² ARCHDALL, p. 405.

³³ *Ib.*, p. 67.

³⁴ HARRIS'S *Down*, p. 27.

³⁵ LEDWICH'S *Antiq. of Ireland*,
p. 75.

Rosary, at Kilcorban, Burke, in his *History of the Dominicans*, gives the following citation from Heyn: "The frequent miracles which God performs through that statue, daily confirm the Catholicks in the true faith, and in the worship of the queen of heaven"³⁶.

Examples of crosses, distinguished as objects of religious veneration.

With respect to the former objects of religious veneration mentioned under this head, in Armagh alone there were, about the middle of the twelfth century, four stone crosses, and the fragment of a fifth, besides two in the burying-ground annexed to the cathedral. In the fifteenth century, about the year 1441, the primate removed to Armagh from the cathedral of Raphoe, another cross, which is supposed to have been the source of considerable profit to the dean and chapter of Raphoe from the miraculous power attributed to it³⁷.

The sanctified resorts of numerous devotees.

Many of these objects of misguided devotion, either singly or associated with each other, gave a character of sanctity to different parts of the country, where they had been erected, and which were frequented by numerous devotees. In the cemetery of the principal of the seven churches at Glendaloch, and near Temple Mac Dermot, one of the nine churches of Clonmacnois, were several of these erections, one of which, in each case, being formed of a single entire stone, and distinguished from its companions by superior height, respectively of eleven and fifteen feet, was a favourite object of popular adoration³⁸. The still greater altitude of eighteen feet contributed, with its rude sculpture, to give additional celebrity to the ancient cross of St. Boyne, with which the abbey of Monasterboice was deco-

³⁶ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, pp. 167, 147, 577, 303, 289, 82.

³⁷ STEWART'S *Hist. of Armagh*, pp. 143, 197.

³⁸ ARCHDALL, 773, 292, 491. LEDWICH, 76.

rated. The cross of Clonmacnois likewise was ornamented on its face, and on the sides of the shaft, with handsome but rude commemorative sculpture, representing, in a succession of relieved compartments, the principal events in the life of St. Kieran, the founder and patron of the neighbouring abbey. A more usual erection was a simple shaft, with a cruciform head; adorned with no carving at all, as in the cross of Finglas, which gives a name to two baronies of the county, or at least with no carved figure, as in the above-named example at Glendaloch, or with a figure intended to represent our blessed Saviour's crucifixion, such as I have seen at Killeenora. A circular mass of solid stone, with one vertical and two lateral projections, was a common form of the upper part of the monument, as in the last-mentioned instance, and in that of Finglas; in some instances, as at Clonmacnois, and at Killelispenn, in Tipperary, whither the cross was brought by supernatural agency, the stone was cut away, and intervals left between the straight pieces and the circular. These intervals had their appropriate use. In the churchyard of Tallagh, near Dublin, were various crosses; one of which, mounted on a pedestal, had in its head four perforations, through which it was usual to draw childbed linen, for securing the easy delivery of the parent, and health to the infant³⁹. A similar provision, and applied to the like purpose of affording relief and comfort to the wearers, by drawing through the perforations their articles of dress, distinguished another remarkable cross at Monaincha⁴⁰.

Forms and other
particulars of
crosses.

Their miraculous
efficacy.

9. Fictitious miracles are another article in the catalogue of the superstitions of the Irish Church.

Fictitious
miracles.

³⁹ GROSE'S *Irish Antiq.*, p. 15.

⁴⁰ LEDWICH'S *Antiq.*, p. 116.

These were attributed, sometimes to the efficacy of their material objects of veneration, and sometimes to the agency of their saints.

An unextinguishable fire.

With respect to the former, in the nunnery of St. Brigid, at Kildare, was a fire, which had been preserved for many ages by the nuns, and was said to be unextinguishable, though it had been extinguished by the Archbishop of Dublin in 1220. The fire, however, was re-lighted, and continued to burn till the suppression of monasteries; one miracle attendant on it was, that, notwithstanding its perpetual consumption of fuel, ashes never increased⁴¹.

About 1321, a great flood in the river Nore destroyed all the bridges and mills in Kilkenny, but dared not approach the high altar of the Franciscan abbey-church⁴².

Miraculous cures wrought by images.

In 1397, the *Annals of the Four Masters* relate, that Hugh Matthews, by fasting and prayers in honour of the miraculous cross of Raphoe, and of the image of the Blessed Virgin at Trim, recovered his lost eye-sight. And in the year 1411, that from the five wounds of the crucified figure there flowed forth a stream of blood, whereby various kinds of infirmity were healed⁴³.

Displeasure indicated by them.

Indications of displeasure, also, as well as of good will, were supposed to be thus supernaturally attested. When Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, in the early part of the thirteenth century, visited an offence committed against him by the Lord Justice with the extremest ecclesiastical vengeance, he caused the crucifixes and images in the cathedral to be taken down and laid upon thorns, as if the passion of the Redeemer were renewed in the per-

⁴¹ GROSE'S *Irish Antiq.*, i. 37.

⁴² *Ib.*, i. 37.

⁴³ COLGAN, *Trias Thaumaturga*.

secution of the minister; and his sufferings were supposed to be reiterated in one of the figures, which was exhibited to the beholders with the face inflamed, the eyes shedding tears, the body bathed in sweat, and the side pouring forth blood and water⁴⁴.

It was from the same feeling of veneration for images, and belief in their potency, that, at a somewhat later period, namely, in 1611, a fabulous story, the sequel of the history of early times, was told of Babbington, bishop of Derry: that he in vain attempted to burn an image of the Virgin Mary, which belonged to the Dominican friary of Coleraine; and that, thereupon, he was instantly seized with a violent illness, and died⁴⁵.

With respect to the miracles attributed to the agency of saints, may be particularly mentioned what ensued, when, in 1108, the great altar of the abbey of Clonmacnois was robbed of many valuable effects. "Whereupon," as related by a Romish historian, "the clergy of the abbey made incessant prayers to God and St. Kieran to enable them to discover the guilty person. Twelve years afterwards, in 1120, the stolen jewels were found in the possession of a Dane of Limerick, who was delivered by the King of Munster to the community of Clonmacnois for execution: when he openly confessed, that he had been at the several ports of Cork, Lismore, and Waterford, and continued some time at each, expecting a passage to another kingdom: that all the other ships left their harbours with fair winds; but as soon as any vessel which he had entered into had set sail, he saw St. Kieran with his

Miracles
wrought by the
agency of saints.

⁴⁴ Hoveden, referred to by Ware, *Bishops*, p. 317.

⁴⁵ Archdall, p. 84.

staff return it back again; and that the saint continued so to do till he was taken⁴⁶.

Among miracles of this class, allusion may be made in general to those related to have been wrought by Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, who died in the year 1206; by John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, who died in 1212; and by Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1360⁴⁷.

Pre-eminence of
St. Malachy as
a worker of
miracles.

But pre-eminent in this respect, as well as in all others calculated to elevate the pretensions of the Romish Church in Ireland, was Archbishop Malachy O'Morgair, who cured a madman with holy water⁴⁸; and by whom the performance of a miracle to impart the benefit of extreme unction to a lady, who was unexpectedly deprived of life before she received it, is thus related by the before-cited "Professor of Divinity in the Royal College of Maynooth."

A lady brought
to life, that she
might receive
extreme unction.

"The lady of a certain knight, who resided near Bangor, being at the point of death, the saint was sent for to prepare her for the awful moment of dissolution. When he arrived at her place of abode, her sickness had somewhat abated, and her friends besought the saint to defer until the morning the discharge of his sacred office. Malachy yielded with reluctance to their request. But the holy man had soon occasion to repent of his condescension; for in a short time after he had retired from her house, he was overtaken by some of the attendants, who proclaimed, by their lamentations, the melancholy intelligence that their mistress was now no more. Overwhelmed with grief and remorse for

⁴⁶ MAC GEOGHEGAN, quoted by ARCHDALL, pp. 387, 388.

⁴⁷ WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 470, 317, 83.

⁴⁸ BISHOP TAYLOR'S *Diss. from Popery*, p. 337.

the facility with which he had yielded to the importunity of the lady's friends, the holy bishop returned to her apartment; and raising his hands to heaven, exclaimed, 'It is I who have sinned by this delay, and not the poor creature.' Then, standing by the bed of the deceased lady, the afflicted pastor, with tears and sighs, poured forth his prayers to God in her behalf. The remaining part of the night the saint employed in supplicating the Divine mercy, and in conjuring those who were present to watch and pray along with him. At length, towards the break of day, the lady opened her eyes, raised herself in the bed, and reverently saluted the saint. Elated with joy, the good bishop then administered to her the sacrament of extreme unction. The singular favour, which God had shown to her at the intercession of his minister, was prolonged until she had performed the penance, which the saint had enjoined her. As soon as this obligation was complied with, the lady, after receiving with devotion the holy rites of religion, relapsed into her former state of debility, and departed in peace⁴⁹.

Before we quit this enumeration of reliques, images, and miracles, it may be desirable to exhibit a catalogue of the treasures of that kind possessed by the church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin. It is taken from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, now in the library of Trinity College: and the Latin original is faithfully represented in the following version.

Catalogue of reliques in Christ Church, Dublin, in the fourteenth century.

"These are the venerable and miraculous reliques of the cathedral metropolitan church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin.

⁴⁹ CAREW'S *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, pp. 311, 312.

“First, the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified, which is said to have twice uttered words.

“Also the staff of Jesus, which the angel conferred on the Blessed Patrick.

“Also the marble altar-stone of St. Patrick, upon which a leper was transported, miraculously swimming from Britain to Ireland.”

Account of the sort of altar-stone, on which a leper swam from England to Ireland.

I pause a little, to explain the vehicle, on which the leper made his miraculous and very memorable passage across the Irish Channel. The original word is *superaltare*; equivalent with which are the phrases, “*Altare Portatile*,” “*Altare Viaticum*,” and “*Tabula consecrata*.” According to these names, it appears to have been “an itinerary, portable altar,” made of a “neat stone,” as Staveley says, in his *History of Churches*, “insigned with the cross, and duly consecrated; of such a length and breadth as might conveniently hold the holy cup and consecrated host, with an apt frame of wood whereon to set it⁵⁰.” Such altars were designed to be carried from place to place, for the celebration of mass, but they were not common; the bishops were cautioned to be very careful and wary in consecrating them; and they were very hardly and rarely granted but by the Pope himself or his penitentiary. The English name was that, by which I have translated it above, as appears from BECON’S *Reliques of Rome*, cited in Dr. WORDSWORTH’S *Ecclesiastical Biography*⁵¹. “Also, should have licence to carry about with them an altar-stone, whereby they might have a priest to say them mass or other divine service, where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the clock after midnight in the summer time.” Further

⁵⁰ P. 210.

⁵¹ Vol. ii. p. 280.

information, if desired, may be found in DU CANGE's *Glossary*, and DUGDALE's *Monasticon*, where, however, the friend who has examined them for me informs me that all the documents quoted for the use of the word are English; and probably the particular altar-stone in question, used as it was for a conveyance from Britain to Ireland, was of English fabrication.

The subject, however, may be further illustrated by an Irish authority, which describes very much the some sort of altar, as that to which the foregoing English authorities have directed us. Of the constitutions and canons, made by John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, at a provincial synod, in 1186, the first "prohibits priests from celebrating mass on a wooden table, according to the usage of Ireland; and enjoins, that in all monasteries and baptismal churches altars should be made of stone; and if a stone of sufficient size to cover the whole surface of the altar cannot be had, that in such case a square entire and polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated, of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice. But in chapels, chauntries, or oratories, if they are necessarily obliged to use wooden altars, let the mass be celebrated upon plates of stone of the before-mentioned size, firmly fixed in the wood⁵²."

We proceed with the catalogue of the Christ Church Reliques:

Catalogue of re-
liques continued.

"Also, the girdle of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Also, some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Also, a thorn of the crown of our Lord Jesus

⁵² WARE's *Bishops*, p. 316.

Christ. Also, some of the bones of St. Peter and St. Andrew, the Apostles.

“Also, reliques of St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr.

“Also, reliques of St. Clement, Martyr.

“Also, reliques of St. Oswald, Bishop, and of St. Faith, Virgin.

“Also, reliques of St. Brandan, Abbot.

“Also, reliques of St. Wulstan, Bishop. Also, reliques of St. Thomas, Martyr. Also, reliques of St. Edmund the Confessor.

“Also, reliques of St. Lucy, Virgin. Also, reliques of St. Anastatia, Virgin and Martyr. Also, of the stone where the law was given.

“Also, of the wood of the golden gate. Also, of the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

“Also, of a bone of St. Blase. Also, of the manger of the Lord. Also, of the oil of St. Nicholas.

“Also, of the cloak of the Lord, in which he lay in the manger. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Patrick. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Columba, Abbot. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Brigid, Virgin. Also, a bone of the bones of St. Laurence, Martyr.

“Also, a bone of the bones of St. Oswald, Martyr.

“Also, more reliques from St. Laurence, Archbishop.

“Also, of the reliques of St. Silvester, Pope.

“Also, of the reliques of the eleven thousand virgins.

“Also, of the reliques of St. Pannosa, Virgin and Martyr.

“Also, of the reliques of St. Herbert, Bishop. Also, of the reliques of St. Daunt, Bishop.

“Also, of the sepulchre of Lazarus. Also, of

the reliques of St. Audoen, Bishop and Confessor. Also, of the reliques of St. Benedict, Abbot.

“Also, of the reliques of St. Basil, Bishop. And of St. Germanus, Bishop.

“Also, of the reliques of St. Olave, King.

“Also, other reliques innumerable, of which it were tedious to make special mention.”

SECTION VI.

Superstitions continued. Pilgrimages. Penances. Indulgences. Dramatick representations of Scripture. Assumption of a monastick habit before death. Masses for the dead. Patron Days. Depressed condition of the lay-members of the Church. Need of Reformation.

10. THE practice of going on pilgrimages, intimately connected with some of the foregoing superstitions, was observed at the same time to a very great extent and with earnest diligence and zeal. Pilgrimages:

These were undertaken sometimes to the Continent, as in the instance of the Abbot Imar, who in the year 1134 died on a pilgrimage to Rome¹; and in that of fifty persons, who went from the diocese of Dublin in 1451, with recommendatory certificates from the archbishop to Pope Nicholas the Fifth, to celebrate the jubilee then kept under the Pope's authority; of which number seven were pressed to death, together with many other pilgrims from all parts of Christendom, besides those who died on their return². To Rome;

More commonly such journeys were undertaken from one part to another of Ireland, from various motives dictated by a blind superstition, and with different objects of spiritual or temporal advantage. To different parts of Ireland;

¹ ARCHDALL, p. 24.

² WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 341.

To places chosen
by celebrated
saints;

Sometimes the attraction was the peculiar sanctity attributed to a particular spot, which had been blessed by the choice of some celebrated saint, as the site of some religious edifice of his foundation: thus, in the twelfth century an opinion generally prevailed, that no person could die in the Isle of Monaincha, be his malady ever so extreme, or his fate ever so urgent, secured as it was in the enjoyment of this privilege, by the merits of its patron saint Colomba, and thence called "*Insula viventium*," the island of the living. This legendary celebrity brought from the remotest parts innumerable pilgrims to expiate their sins at the altar of the saint, and was the occasion of a gainful trade for several centuries³.

To pieces of
handicraft by
saints;

Sometimes the special attraction was some piece of handicraft, the supposed workmanship of the saint's own hand; thus, in Cape Clear Island was a pillar of stone, bearing towards the top a cross rudely carved, as tradition reported, by St. Kieran; and greatly venerated by incredible crowds of pilgrims, who assembled around it on the 5th of March, which was his festival⁴.

To memorials of
antiquity, called
by saints' names;

Sometimes a memorial of antiquity, bearing a saint's name, and imagined to be possessed of some peculiar miraculous property, drew together the itinerant multitudes: thus on the day of St. Patrick, the saint's penitential bed, and other similar ancient monuments, fit objects as they were deemed for the devotion of pilgrims, filled with devotees the parish church of Domnach Glinne Tochair, in Inisoeen; while Devenish was rendered alike attractive by the stone coffin, called the bed of St. Molaise, the usual place of his devotions, and celebrated for the relief

³ ARCHDALI, p. 668.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 60.

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which it was said to afford to pains in the backs of those who reposed in it; and to women in a state of pregnancy a similar inducement was offered by an assurance, that such as should enter and turn thrice round in the cavity of a rock, near the door of the church of Inismore, called our Lady's Bed, saying at the same time certain prayers, should be safely delivered from the perils of child-birth⁵.

Sometimes a church or churches built by some distinguished worker of miracles, with other remnants of his devotion whilst alive, gathered together large concourses of his posthumous admirers; thus, multitudes of persons of every age and either sex continually flocked to the valley of Glendaloch; and there, among his seven churches and his numerous crosses of stone, celebrated the festival of their venerable founder, St. Keivin⁶.

To churches,
built by workers
of miracles;

Sometimes the place of a saint's interment was the cause of a like assemblage; thus, in the monastery of Begery, where were deposited the mortal remains of St. Ivar, and where his reliques continued to be kept in honourable preservation, crowds were assembled to unite in the litany of St. Ængus, which invoked the departed saint, together with one hundred and fifty of his disciples⁷.

To places of
saints' inter-
ment;

Sometimes a favourite image, celebrated for its miraculous powers, became equally memorable for the multitudinous pilgrimages, and the costly offerings with which it was honoured. This was the case, in a remarkable degree, with the wonders attributed, and the adoration paid, to an image of the Blessed Virgin preserved in the abbey of Trim; which, in the year 1444, is said to have wrought great miracles; particularly to have restored eyes to

To miraculous
images;

⁵ ARCHDALL, pp. 97, 200, 634. ⁶ *Ib.*, p. 766. ⁷ *Ib.*, p. 733.

the blind, tongues to the dumb, and limbs to the weak and decrepit. The narrative adds that "in the same year a woman is said to have brought forth cats⁸."

To holy wells :

Holy wells, imagined to enjoy the special patronage and benediction of some tutelary saint, and to be endued with salutary or healing properties, attracted to their miraculous waters annual crowds of infirm and diseased visitants, in pursuit of preternatural health and vigour. These wells were generally dispersed over the country, and the pilgrims who visited them were numerous in proportion; and, as examples, may be mentioned, especially St. Patrick's at Finglass, St. Colomb's at Swords, St. Francis's at Kilkenny, and St. Conald's at Iniskeel; St. Finian's at Erynagh, St. Thomas the Martyr's near Down, St. Kilian's at Fenaugh, and others equally celebrated and frequented; for instance, those of Kilmacduagh, St. Michael's Mount, and Inislounagh⁹.

To reliques.

Probably a mere feeling of ignorant and indefinite devotion in favour of some valued relique on some occasions animated the enterprise: as appears to have been the case with those, who resorted on every Holy Thursday to pay their offerings to a piece of the holy cross preserved in the abbey of Tracton; and with the great rebel chief O'Neil, when, in 1579, he made a pilgrimage, as did one of the Desmonds in 1599, to visit a piece of the same original instrument of our blessed Saviour's death, said to be preserved in the abbey of the Holy Cross¹⁰.

Pilgrimages, acts of penance, or for indulgences.

In some cases, again, the pilgrimage was con-

⁸ ARCHDALI, p. 577.

⁹ MASON's, *St. Patrick*, p. 49.

ARCHDALI, pp. 216, 100, 375, 119, 129, 409, 292, 301, 663.

¹⁰ ARCHDALI, pp. 79, 660.

needed with acts of penance and mortification for the expiation of sins; and in others was regarded as the price paid for indulgences granted as in remuneration of a meritorious act.

For the protection of persons thus engaged, the interposition of the ruling powers had been solicited and procured. In a petition preferred by Nicholas Dovedale, prebendary of Clonmethan, to parliament, in 1476, it was stated, that "divers persons, aliens, strangers, and denizens, did frequent, in considerable numbers, by way of pilgrimage, the chapel of St. Catherine, the virgin and martyr of Feldstown, which was appropriated and annexed to his prebend, being for the health and safety of their souls, and accomplishment of their petitions and prayers; and upon his complaint that they had been at divers times vexed and molested, on divers pretences; by reason of which they were obliged to lay aside such devotions and pilgrimages; it was thereupon enacted, that the persons and properties of all such pilgrims should, during their pilgrimage, be under the king's protection; nor should the persons of any such be arrested, on any writ or authority whatever, for debt, treason, felony, or trespass, until said pilgrimage be accomplished¹¹."

Protected by
parliament.

11. Penances, whether in connexion with pilgrimages, or otherwise inflicted on the sinner by his ecclesiastical superior, in punishment and expiation of his sins, were among the other characteristicks of the Church at the season under review.

Penances.

One of the most notorious theatres of this sort of superstitious infliction was St. Patrick's purgatory, on an island of Lough Dearg, in the county of

¹¹ Stat. Roll, 14 Edw. IV., cited in MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 54.

Donegal, about which the penitent was compelled to crawl, bare-legged and bare-armed, painfully lacerating his knees and hands as he slowly effected his passage over the sharp stones¹². Another was the high mountain of Slieve Donard, in the county of Down, to the top of which he was sentenced to climb under the heat of a midsummer sun, and there to offer his devotions to the saint from whom the mountain derives its name¹³.

St. Patrick's purgatory.

But of these superstitions the former seems to require more particular notice. It was founded upon a vision, ascribed by Matthew Paris to the fraud or illusion of an Irish soldier in the twelfth century, adopted by a Cistercian monk, and embellished with all his powers of ingenuity; and thence publicly set forth, and impressed upon the minds of the uneducated and credulous natives, with circumstances calculated to work upon their hopes and fears, and thus to bring them under more absolute thralldom to their priests by the influence of stimulating and deceitful imaginations. Christ, as the soldier is reported to have told his vision seen in St. Patrick's purgatory, appeared to St. Patrick, but whether to the primitive apostle of Ireland, or to one who bore the name of his more illustrious predecessor, about the year 850, the legend has not determined; and leading him to a desert place, showed him a deep hole, and instructed him that whoever repented and was armed with true faith, and entering into that pit continued there a night and a day, should, during his abode there, behold the pains of purgatory and of hell, and the joys of heaven, and be thereby purged and cleansed from

¹² ARCHDALL, p. 102; LEDWICH, p. 134.

¹³ HARRIS'S *County of Down*, p. 121.

all his sins. A church and monastery, founded by the saint; seven chapels or cells in different parts of the island, which is only one hundred and twenty-six yards long and forty-four broad, or about the size of an English acre; about the same number of circular inclosures or conical piles of stones, distinguished by the names of the beds or circles of St. Patrick, St. Abage, St. Molass, St. Brendan, St. Columba, St. Catherine, and St. Brigid, were the results of this impious invention; above all, the purgatory of St. Patrick, which was a cave sixteen feet and a half long by about two wide; so low, that a tall man could not stand in it upright; so confined, that it could not contain more than nine persons; and so closed, that no light could enter in, except through the doorway, or a small window in one corner. In and round these structures, at stated seasons of the year, for two or three weeks in succession, and from every district of the land, vast multitudes of pilgrims promiscuously crawled: painfully exercising their bodies with penitentiary inflictions, but crowning the tortures of the day with nightly scenes of revelry, intemperance, debauchery, and riot; and exhibiting by their subsequent conduct scant fruits of penitence.

There were other favourite spots, where the macerations of self-tormenting were succeeded by the orgies of self-indulgence: such, for example, as the valley of Glendaloch, and the islands of Inniscattery and Inniscaltra: but the small isle of Lough Dearg appears to have been pre-eminent in evil at least in a scandalous notoriety. For much to the discontent and loss of the priests, who throve upon the sufferings and sins of the deluded people, the shameful imposture and enormities of the place

Other places of
penance.

excited, at length, papal displeasure; and by a decree of Pope Alexander the Sixth, in 1497, it incurred a sentence of demolition; which, however, was not effectually accomplished, for in the year 1630, the government of Ireland gave orders for its final suppression¹⁴.

Occasional
penances.

Such penances as these, that have been now mentioned, were in ordinary course. An example of occasional penance is furnished by the narrative of an assault made on the Earl of Ormonde, in 1434, by the citizens of Dublin, who, at the same time, furiously attacked and broke open the gates of St. Mary's abbey, and carried off the abbot by force, "bearing him up, some by his feet, and others by his hands and arms." A publick penance was in consequence enjoined upon the mayor and citizens to proceed barefoot to the cathedrals of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's, and to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, begging pardon for the offences committed by them in their churches. And, in 1492, another treacherous and violent assault was made on another Earl of Ormonde, in St. Patrick's cathedral, by the citizens of Dublin, with circumstances of sacrilegious outrage; which was visited by the Pope's legate with this sentence, that "in detestation of so horrible a fact, and in perpetual memory of the transaction, the mayor of Dublin should go barefoot throughout the city in open procession, before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi's day, which penitent satisfaction was after, in every such procession, duly accomplished¹⁵.

12. Indulgences by the Pope have been already

¹⁴ Cox, vol. ii. p. 54.

¹⁵ MASON'S *St. Patrick*, pp. 132, 141.

intimated to have been connected with the practice of undertaking pilgrimages. Such indulgences were granted in 1399 and 1401, to all who should visit the monastery of Sligo on certain festivals, and to all who should visit the friary of Drogheda; and, in 1415, to all persons who should visit the friary of Arklow, and give alms to the friars; and, in 1450, to all who should make a pilgrimage to the abbey of Navan, or contribute to repair or adorn it. Other similar privileges were granted in 1400 and 1423, to all persons who should visit the Dominican friary of Galway on particular festivals, and contribute to its repairs; and, in 1426, to all who had contributed to the building of the monastery of Portumna; and, in 1450, to all who should undertake pilgrimages to the abbey of Navan¹⁶.

Papal indulgences in reward of pilgrimages;

Papal indulgences were also given for purposes differing in kind from the preceding. In 1476, Octavian del Palatio, the Pope's nuncio in Ireland and the adjoining isles, granted an indulgence of two months to all inhabitants of this kingdom who should give subsidies towards the propagation of the Christian faith and the Crusades; provided they should visit the Cathedral of St. Patrick's and the Holy Trinity, the chapel of St. Mary near the old bridge, belonging to the preaching friars, and that of St. Thomas, and should there say thrice seven psalms with litanies, or else the Lord's Prayer three score times, with the angel's salutation. The subsidies required were, from archbishops, bishops, earls, and countesses, two marks each; from abbots, barons, and baronesses, one mark and a half; from nobles of inferior quality, doctors and their wives, one mark; and from other persons, half a mark each.

And for other purposes.

¹⁶ ARCHDALL, pp. 638, 760, 559, 274, 275, 295, 559.

All indulgences to other churches were to cease for eight months¹⁷.

And of the same nature appears to be a document in the archives of Christ Church, Dublin, being a later indulgence and plenary pardon of all sins, however enormous, granted by Donald O'Fallon to Richard Skyret, then canon, but afterwards prior, of that cathedral, for contributions to the Crusade. He entitles himself Deputy of the Order of Minors, being an observantine Franciscan, and on the seal is called the Guardian of Youghal. In the year 1485, he was advanced to the see of Derry by the provision of Pope Innocent the Eighth; but it was not in his episcopal capacity that he granted the foregoing indulgence, which was dated in 1482¹⁸.

Episcopal indul-
gences.

But there were other "indulgences," of which frequent mention is made in the history of this period of the Irish Church, and which require some explanation: for, as Harris observes, "possibly every reader may not know what is meant by these indulgences. Fuller, in his *Worthies of Cambridgeshire*, declares his ignorance of them: 'unless,' says he, 'they signified a promise of a pardon of so many days to such who should go on pilgrimage to such a church, or be contributors to the repairs or building of it.' And this he thinks an over-papal act for a plain bishop. But," continues Harris, "it was usual with the Pope to grant faculties to bishops for this purpose. Thus Maurice de Portu, archbishop of Tuam, in 1506, obtained a faculty from the Pope for granting indulgences to all who should hear his first mass at Tuam, after his return from Rome; but he died on his journey before he had the opportunity of celebrating his first mass. These indul-

¹⁷ MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 139.

¹⁸ WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 197, 198.

gences were a relaxation of so many days' penance enjoined upon any person who should do such or such an act. This seems to be the true meaning of these indulgences;" on which it may be further remarked, that, "when a bishop took upon him to grant them, the confirmation of the archbishop of the province was necessary for giving them effect"¹⁹." The manner in which this power was exercised, and the nature of the acts to which it was applied, will be better understood from the following exemplification.

About the year 1220, Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, having founded in his diocese an hospital of the Holy Ghost, granted such indulgences to those who should visit and give alms or largesses to the said hospital, in these words, "Of the penance enjoined to them we relax thirty days;" words which set forth the meaning of the privilege to the effect already explained. The same archbishop granted thirteen days' indulgences to the abbey of Glastonbury, in England²⁰.

In what manner,
and for what
acts granted;

By Archbishop
of Dublin,
1220;

About 1227, Walter, bishop of Waterford, granted twenty days' indulgences to the abbey of Glastonbury, as many to the church of the Blessed Virgin, ten days to the church of Basseleke, ten days to the chapel of Horty, thirteen days to the church of Torre, twenty days to the church of the Holy Trinity of Godenie, all belonging to the said abbey, and thirteen days to the reliques of it²¹.

By Bishop of
Waterford,
1227;

About 1233, Jocelin O'Tormaig, bishop of Ardagh, granted to Glastonbury Abbey fifteen days' indulgences, and as many to that of St. Albans²².

By Bishop of
Ardagh,
1233;

In 1237, Christian, bishop of Emly, granted indulgences of twenty days to the promoters of the

By Bishop of
Emly,
1237;

¹⁹ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 263.

²⁰ *Ib.*, p. 320.

²¹ *Ib.*, p. 530.

²² *Ib.*, pp. 251, 252.

building of St. Paul's Church, London. And in 1252,²³ the like grant was given to St. Paul's, by Gilbert, successor of Christian, in the see of Emly. In 1255, Isaac, bishop of Killaloe, made a grant of eight days to the same building. In 1257, a similar grant of forty days' indulgence was given to the contributors to the building of St. Paul's, by William, of Port Royal, bishop of Connor²³.

By Bishop of
Killaloe,
1255;

By Bishop of
Connor,
1257;

By Bishop of
Elphin,
1262;

In or about 1262, Thomas Mac Ferall, bishop of Elphin, granted indulgences of fifty days to the chapel of the Virgin Mary in the Temple of London; and forty days more to those, who, out of a motive of devotion, should visit the tomb of Roger, in St. Paul's, in the same city²⁴.

By Archbishop
of Cashel,
1268;

In 1268, David Mac Carwill, archbishop of Cashel, granted forty days' indulgence to St. Paul's, London; and in 1270, the same grant was made for the same purpose, by Thomas Liddell, bishop of Down²⁵.

By Bishop of
Waterford,
1280;

About 1280, Stephen of Fulburn, bishop of Waterford, granted the church of Glastonbury forty days to the abbey, ten days to those who should visit the reliques, twenty days to those who should visit the cross, ten days to those who should visit the sapphire, (a stone of some virtues there preserved,) twenty days to the church of Torre, twenty days to the hospital, and as many to the church of the Holy Trinity of Godenie, all belonging to the said abbey, amounting, on the whole, to one hundred and forty days²⁶.

By Bishop of
Lismore,
1289.

In 1289, Richard Cor, bishop of Lismore, granted forty days' indulgences to any person who should hear mass from any canon of Christ Church, Dublin;

²³ WARE, pp. 494, 295, 591, 220.

²⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 474, 197.

²⁴ *Ib.*, p. 630.

²⁶ *Ib.*, p. 553.

or should say the Lord's Prayer, or an Ave-Mary for the benefactors of the said church; and Nicholas de Effingham, bishop of Cloyne, made the same grant. And in 1291, the same grant was made severally by Matthew O'Heothy, bishop of Ardagh, and William O'Duffy, bishop of Clonmacnoise²⁷.

In 1414, John Cely, bishop of Down, having created and consecrated an altar in Christ Church, Dublin, to the honour of the Virgin Mary, granted forty days' indulgences to all the canons who should celebrate mass, and devoutly pray at the said altar²⁸.

By Bishop of
Down,
1414;

Between the years 1417 and 1439, John Swayn, archbishop of Armagh, made a grant of forty days' indulgences to any person who should give relief to Moyn Mackenmery, a man who had been reduced to poverty; and a similar grant to any one who should contribute to the ransom of Nicholas Chamberlain, who had been taken prisoner by the Irish enemies; and many of the like sort²⁹.

By Archbishop
of Armagh,
1417;

In 1442, John Prene, archbishop of Armagh, being highly incensed against the dean and chapter of Raphoe, and having deprived them of their benefices, granted moreover forty days' indulgences to all who should fall upon their persons, and seize or dissipate their substance³⁰.

1442;

In 1443, on the petition of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, granted forty days' indulgences to all persons who should contribute to the providing a great bell for that cathedral, and to making some new windows and other repairs therein³¹.

1443;

In 1453, on the arrival of the melancholy news that Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the Emperor Constantine Paleologus slain, Michael Tre-

By Archbishop
of Dublin,
1453.

²⁷ WARE, pp. 553, 576, 252, 171.

²⁸ *Ib.*, p. 198.

²⁹ *Ib.*, p. 274.

³⁰ *Ib.*, p. 202.

³¹ *Ib.*, p. 36.

gury, archbishop of Dublin, proclaimed a fast to be strictly observed throughout his diocese for three days together, and granted indulgences of an hundred years to the observers of it; and he himself went before the clergy in procession to Christ Church, clothed in sackcloth and ashes⁸².

Theatrical representations of
Scripture events,

13. Dramatick representations of scriptural events of the most serious and solemn kinds were made the subjects of publick exhibition, on the great festivals of the church, as means, it is to be presumed, of combining religious instruction with popular entertainment.

and of legends,

Thus in the year 1506, the awful occurrences of our blessed Saviour's passion were set forth in a play in the Hoggin Green; since called College Green, near Dublin⁸³. And the like method was employed for impressing upon the publick mind the subjects of their superstitious legends. Thus at the same place, in 1523, the life of St. Laurence, one of the canonized objects of Irish veneration, was played for the edification or amusement of the admiring multitude.

and mythological
stories.

With subjects of these kinds were sometimes blended others derived from the heathen mythology. Thus in the year 1528, Arland Ussher being then mayor, and Francis Herbert, and John Squire, bailiffs, the Earl of Ossory, being lord deputy of Ireland, was invited every day in Christmas to a new play; wherein the tailors acted the part of Adam and Eve; the shoemakers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus; the vintners acted Bacchus and his story; the carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the smiths; and the comedy of Ceres, the god-

Christmas exhibitions by the
different trades
of Dublin.

⁸² WARE, p. 341.

⁸³ *Loftus MS.*, Marsh's Library.

dess of corn, by the bakers. Their stage was erected on Hoggin Green, now called College Green; and on it the Priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Blessed Trinity, and of All Hallows, caused two plays to be acted, the one representing the passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the apostles suffered³⁴.

A similar exhibition is recorded, as accompanying the procession of Corpus Christi day, on which the glovers were to represent Adam and Eve, with an angel bearing a sword before them; the corriscees, perhaps the curriers, were to represent Cain and Abel, with an altar and their offering; mariners and vintners, Noah and the persons in his ark, apparelled in the habits of carpenters and salmon-takers; the weavers represented Abraham and Isaac with their offering and altar; the smiths represented Pharaoh with his host; the skinner the camel with the children of Israel; the goldsmiths were to find the King of Cullen, (*qu.* the kings of Cologne, that is, the Eastern Magi?) the hoopers were to find the shepherds, with an angel singing *Gloria in excelsis Deo*; Corpus Christi guild was to find Christ in his passion, with the Maries and Angels; the tailors were to find Pilate with his fellowship, and his wife clothed accordingly; the barbers, Annas and Caiaphas; the fishers, the Apostles; the merchants, the Prophets; and the butchers, the tormentors³⁵.

Exhibition on
Corpus Christi
day.

The same sort of entertainment appears to be intended by the Proctor's account, already referred to, in St. Patrick's cathedral in the year 1509; where an allowance is required of "three shillings and one penny paid to Thomas Mayowe, playing

Proctor's account
for entertain-
ments in St.
Patrick's.

³⁴ ROBT. WARE, MS. quoted in WARBURTON's *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 102.

³⁵ *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 110.

with seven candles, on the feast of the Lord's Nativity, and the Purification, this year; and of four shillings and sevenpence paid to those who played with the great and little Angel, and the Dragon, on the feast of Pentecost; and four shillings and twopence paid for victuals to the same, who played on the days of the same feast, this year³⁶.

Characters of the drama represented by puppets.

The plays, here spoken of, seem to have been performed by the machinery of puppets, which were made to personate the characters of the drama. And this interpretation is illustrated and confirmed by a curious passage, quoted in WARTON's *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 240, 4to., from LAMBARDE'S *Topographical Dictionary*, written about the year 1570. "In the days of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney, in Oxfordshire, to set forth yearly, in manner of a show or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lively hereby to exhibit to the eye the whole action of the resurrection, the priests garnished out certain small puppets, representing the persons of Christ, the watchmen, Mary, and others; amongst the which one bare the part of a waking watchman, who espying Christ to arise, made a continual noise, like to the sound that is caused by the meeting of two sticks. The like toy I myself, being then a child, once saw in Paul's Church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntide, where the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole, that yet is to be seen in the midst of the roof of the great aisle."

Bishop Bale's attempt to improve these exhibitions.

John Bale, bishop of Ossory, in King Edward the Sixth's reign, endeavoured to improve these dramattick exhibitions of religious subjects; and under

³⁶ MASON'S *St. Patrick's*. App. pp. xxviii. xxix.

his patronage a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, and a comedy of St. John Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptising, and of his temptation in the wilderness, were played at Kilkenny, after the manner of some pieces of his composition, which are still extant. But these subjects are manifestly unfit for such representations. The very association has an air of profaneness; and they gradually fell into disuse, and at length became obsolete, under the light diffused by the Reformation.

14. To mitigate the terrors of approaching death, and to secure future happiness, recourse was had to several superstitious observances; to one in particular, which, although not so prevalent as to be represented, like pilgrimages, of general adoption, was by no means uncommon even amongst persons of distinction; namely, that by which they attempted to secure a passport to heaven under a borrowed semblance; and, as Milton says:

Assumption of
monastick dress
before death;

———— To be sure of Paradise,
Dying put on the weeds of Dominick,
Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised³⁷.

During the period under consideration, two archbishops of Cashel, and three bishops respectively of Raphoe, Derry, and Ross, are named in Sir JAMES WARE's *History*, as having assumed on their deathbeds the Franciscan, Cistercian, or Dominican habit, and being buried in that attire, and in a monastery of the same order³⁸; a practice, which is observed by Ware's continuator, Harris, to have been "according to the humour of those times, and thought to be of great consequence;" and which in fact was not con-

By several
bishops;

³⁷ *Paradise Lost*. B. iii. v. 478.

³⁸ WARE's *Bishops*, pp. 475, 478, 274, 291, 588.

And distinguished laymen.

fined to ecclesiastical persons, as we are elsewhere informed of a Lord Justice of Ireland, who in 1257 died, and was buried in the monastery of Youghall, in the habit of a Franciscan friar; of Dermot O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who in 1313 had recourse at Ennis to the like passport to happiness, which was adopted in 1343, by Matthew M'Comara, who built the refectory and sacristy of the monastery, and was there buried in the habit of the order; and of Alexander of the Ashgrove, who assumed the same habit in 1348, and was interred in the Franciscan friary of Kilkenny³⁹.

Private masses.

15. Private masses, or masses performed by the priest alone, for the benefit of the dead, and in which the living had no participation, were universally prevalent, and had become the source of large revenues to the clergy, by reason of the donations and bequests, given for the perpetual maintenance of these expiatory ceremonies.

Examples founded by Abp. of Armagh.

Examples of these are too abundant for enumeration. Two or three, however, may be briefly noticed: as for instance, that John Swayn, archbishop of Armagh, having founded a chapel and chantry, dedicated to St. Anne, in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, early in the fifteenth century, John May, one of his successors, soon afterwards "annexed a large portion of the archiepiscopal tithes to the chapel, in pure alms, for ever, as a compensation for a greater number of priests, to pray perpetually for his soul, and the souls of his predecessors and successors, and of all the benefactors to the same Church"⁴⁰.

³⁹ ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, pp. 81, 45, 374.

⁴⁰ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 86.

And a curious manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a list of the names of the deceased, whose bodies, in the fourteenth century, rested in the dust in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, and in the precinct of the same; with a prayer that God would be propitious to their souls: for which, it goes on to say, "the prior and canons of the same place are bound to pray; and especially once in the year solemnly to celebrate for them exequies and masses, with bells sounded and candles lighted about them."

And in Christ
Church, Dublin.

After the like manner, in 1244, Luke, archbishop of Dublin, having at the instance of Warin, one of the canons of St. Patrick's, granted a piece of ground for ever to the vicars; the vicars bound themselves to celebrate one mass in the church every day, for the souls of the fathers and mothers of the archbishop and of the said Warin, and likewise for their souls, when they should die; and that on their anniversaries they would celebrate mass in a solemn manner, subject to deprivation of their benefices in the event of non-performance. And in 1364, in consideration of an acre of land granted by King Edward the Third, through his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, the dean and chapter incurred a similar obligation of performing anniversaries for the souls of the king and queen, of the duke and duchess, and of their ancestors and posterity for ever⁴¹.

And in St. Pa-
trick's.

For these formalities a single altar was not sufficient, but in the same church a multitudinous provision was made for their observance. Thus at a great synod, holden in 1157, for the purpose of consecrating the church of Mellifont, at which were

Multitude of
altars in the
same church.

⁴¹ MASON'S *St. Patrick*, pp. 108, 124.

present the Archbishop of Armagh, then apostolick legate, and divers other princes and bishops, amongst numerous rich gifts to the abbey was included a chalice of gold for the high altar, and holy furniture for nine other altars in the same church⁴².

Mass celebrated
at several at the
same time.

These masses were frequently celebrated, many in the same church and at the same time. Thus in the church of Galway were the following chapels and altars:—1. The high altar of St. Nicholas, in the choir; 2. The altar of Jesus Christ, in the chapel of Christ Judging; 3. The altar of St. Michael, in the chapel of the Guardian Angels; 4. The altar of St. Mary Major, in the ancient chapel of the Lynches; 5. The altar of the blessed Mary, in the new and great chapel of the Blessed Mary, under the title of the Blessed Mary, mother of God; 6. The altar of St. James; 7. The altar of St. Catherine, in her gilt chapel; 8. The altar of St. John the Baptist, joined to the column of the pulpit; 9. The altar of St. Bridget; 10. The altar of St. Martin; 11. The altar of the Blessed Sacrament, in the chapel dedicated to it; 12. The altar of St. Anne, in her chapel; 13. The altar of St. Patrick, in his chapel, originally dedicated to him; 14. The altar of the Holy Trinity, in its chapel. These fourteen chapels and altars are specified by a modern historian of the town, as a criterion for estimating the magnificence of the church of Galway before the Reformation; and he adds the remark, that in almost all of these the same time was often employed for the celebration of divine service⁴³.

Comparative re-

15. In this enumeration it may be noticed, that

⁴² ARCHDALL, p. 479.

⁴³ HARDIMAN'S *Hist. of Galway*, p. 246, note.

whilst one chapel and altar were erected in honour of the holy Trinity, and one in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, there were two in honour of the Virgin Mary, one of St. Michael, one of St. James, and one of St. John the Baptist, and almost the entire of the remainder, being nearly a moiety of the whole, were in honour of canonized saints. The proportionate regard shown, during the times in question, to the uncreated and created objects of religious veneration, might be illustrated by this appropriation; and a similar illustration might be drawn from the appropriation of time: for the festival days of the several patron saints were solemnly observed, whereas small regard was paid to the Lord's-day, that being the day selected in several places for the holding of publick markets⁴⁴.

spect for the
Lord's day and
patron days.

A failure in the reverence due to this day was evidenced in the year 1541, when the parliament having passed an act declaring Henry the Eighth king of Ireland, the Sunday following was selected for proclaiming him king, in St. Patrick's church, and the next Sunday for "having tournaments and running at the ring with spears, on horseback"⁴⁵."

Tournaments on
a Sunday, in
1541.

Whereas the guilt of the murder of five innocent unoffending persons, on Friday, the 8th of September, 1556, during their occupation in the hay field, "after they had served God according to the day, was coloured by the priests, who caused it to be noised all the country round, that it was by the hand of God these persons were slain, for that they had broken, they said, the great holyday of our Lady's nativity⁴⁶."

⁴⁴ Cox, i. 103.

⁴⁵ *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 109, from a MS. in the Coll. Library.

⁴⁶ BALE's *Vocacyon*.

Condition of the
members of the
Church in
general.

16. It remains to be briefly noticed, that under the circumstances to which we have adverted, the condition of the members of the church in general could not be expected to be, and in reality was not, distinguished by sound religion and useful learning. Revealed truth was inaccessible to them at its source in the Holy Scripture; and in its transmission through the channels of ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, and ministerial instruction, it had, for the most part, lost its primitive and essential character; so that the spiritual worship of God, and belief in the Gospel of his blessed Son, and corresponding holiness and purity of life, were well nigh superseded and obliterated by fabulous legends and superstitions, and unedifying observances. Meanwhile with a clergy too commonly illiterate, with scanty means and opportunities of intellectual improvement, and amid the continual agitation of intestine tumults and warfare, illiteracy was the general state both of their chief men and of the people; so that we need hardly wonder at the statement of history that, even in the year 1546, there were men of high rank and station in the country so destitute of the elements of education as to be incapable of writing their names. Their conduct, indeed, during this period exhibited palpable symptoms of brutality and ferocity; and was marked by a contemptuous disregard, not only for ingenuous learning, but for religion, whose abodes and ministers they often desecrated with sacrilegious outrage.

Outrages upon
religious edifices.

Of one perfidious Irishman, indeed, an unbaptized marauder, or *corbi* as he was called, because he had never been christened, one M'Adam, or Hugh M'Gilmori, we are informed, who, in 1407,

destroyed forty churches, and was afterwards killed in that of Carrickfergus, his previous ravaging of which, by breaking the windows, and carrying off the iron-bars, had disabled it for affording him protection from assault⁴⁷. But the outrages of this lawless barbarian had their counterparts in the violence of those from whom, professors as they were of the Christian faith, better things might have been hoped and expected.

Thus the destruction of the inhabitants of the town and abbey of Kildare by a King of Leinster, in 1135, the forcible abstraction of the abbess from her cloister, and her compulsory marriage with one of his own followers⁴⁸: the plunder, in 1171, by a chieftain, named Manus M'Dunleve, of several churches⁴⁹: the conversion of the church of Milick into a stable, by William de Burgh, in 1203, who appears to have committed sacrilege with as little compunction as he ate flesh meat during Lent⁵⁰: the plunder of the abbey of Innisfallen, in 1180, and the slaughter of the clergy in their cemetery by the Macarthys⁵¹; the destruction of the monastery of Lough Dearg, which, notwithstanding its celebrity and reputed holiness, was reduced to ashes by Bratachas O'Boyle and M'Mahon, in 1207⁵²: the assault made by John de Ratheogan, in 1306, upon the Abbot [of Crossmalyne, the imprisonment of his person, and the rifling of his monastery⁵³: "the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in 1492, in rushing into St. Patrick's church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the

Irreligious conduct of persons of rank.

⁴⁷ MARLEBURGH'S *Annals*, App.
to CAMDEN'S *Britannia*.

⁴⁸ ARCHDALL, p. 328.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, p. 294.

⁵¹ *Ib.*, p. 302.

⁵² *Ib.*, p. 102.

⁵³ *Ib.*, p. 501.

images, prostrating the reliques, rasing down altars, with barbarous outeries, more like miscreant Saracens than Christian Catholicks⁵⁴:" the attack, in 1392, upon the abbey of St. Thomas, by the mayor of Dublin and the bailiffs, and others of the citizens, armed, "with intent and malice aforethought," "to drag thereout John Serjeant, the abbot, and all his party, or to kill them there;" and their persistance in their evil designs, notwithstanding the interposition of the government, "bringing fire to burn the abbey, destroying several hosts, breaking the windows, surrounding the king's officers, and forcibly rescuing their prisoners⁵⁵:" the burning of the cathedral church of Cashel, in 1503, by the Earl of Kildare, who acknowledged the sacrilegious action, and affirmed, with a solemn oath, that he would not have committed it, had he not supposed that the archbishop himself was in the church⁵⁶: and the murder, in 1513, of Edmund Burke in the monastery of Rathbran, where he had sought protection from the unnatural malice of his brother's sons⁵⁷: these and similar outrages mark the ecclesiastical annals of the country, and leave the brand of barbarism and irreligion on the character of its inhabitants of rank, from which it is hardly to be supposed that the inferior instruments of iniquity could be exempted.

Moral condition
of the lower
Irish.

Of the moral condition, indeed, of the lower Irish, during the period in question, a sketch has been drawn in recent times by an ecclesiastick of high dignity in the Romish church in Ireland, as cited by Dr. Phelan, in his *History*, p. 128; and by

⁵⁴ HOLLINGSHEAD, cited by MASON, *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 141, Note *h*.

⁵⁵ ARCHDALL, p. 194.

⁵⁶ M'GEOHEGAN's *Hist.* i. 421.

⁵⁷ ARCHDALL, p. 508.

him they are represented as exhibiting ferocity combined with cunning, and astuteness with cruelty, as characterized by individual bravery and collective cowardice, and as generally estranged from honesty and truth. The features of this portrait, it is to be hoped, are exaggerated: but the delineation had probably too near a resemblance to the original, as it may be traced in the occurrences of the times.

Upon the whole, whatever pretensions may have been justly advanced by Ireland, in previous ages, to the title of "the Island of Saints," an examination of its subsequent condition shows, that its profession of Christianity had become such as to preclude its continued claim to that appellation; that it had fallen many degrees below the standard of evangelical purity and simplicity, and was weighed down by a burden of corruption and error during the centuries under review; and was abundantly in need of improvement in its profession and practice of religion, in the character of its clergy and people, and in the ordinances of its church, at the era of the Reformation.

General character of the Irish Church.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH	1535—1537.
GEORGE CROMER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE	1535—1542.
GEORGE DOWDALL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE	1543.

SECTION I.

Review of the Condition of the Church. Recognition of the King's Supremacy intended. Archbishop Cromer's opposition. Co-operating obstacles. George Broune made Archbishop of Dublin. Ineffectual effort of the King's Commissioners. Parliament of 1537. Acts relative to the Church.

Depressed state
of the Church of
Ireland before
the Reformation.

At the era of the Reformation, the Church of Ireland partook of those marks which were inherent in the Church of England also, as well as in the other churches of western Christendom. The true word of God was not preached by her ministers, nor acknowledged by her people, through the general ignorance or prohibition of the Holy Scriptures. Legendary tales maintained an ascendancy over the Christian verity. Transubstantiation, wafer-worship, and half-communion; auricular confession, and discretionary absolution; purgatory, pilgrimages, penances, and indulgences; the invocation of saints, and the adoration of images and reliques: all conspiring to derogate from God's honour, and to lay false foundations for man's hope of salvation; were some of the enormities which deformed her creed

and religious practice. The sacraments of Christ were partly withheld, or superstitiously administered: they, as likewise the publick prayers of the Church, were celebrated in a strange tongue: and certain other ecclesiastical ordinances were raised to the dignity of the two sacraments of Christ. Celibacy was enjoined upon her clergy. They, as well as her people, were little distinguished for moral or intellectual improvement. Monastick establishments existed to a great and very detrimental extent. And of those who bore the episcopal office in her communion, her four archbishops and twenty-six bishops, the appointment was conferred, the allegiance claimed, and the rights and privileges circumscribed by a foreign potentate: from whom the metropolitans had submitted to receive their archiepiscopal palls from the middle of the twelfth century, in acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy.

It was by the abrogation of this supremacy, and the assertion of the sovereign's right to the undivided dominion over all his subjects, as well ecclesiastical as civil, that the first advance was made towards the reformation of religion, the providence of God converting the counsels of the monarch for the maintenance of his own royal prerogative into the means of purifying and renovating his Church. King Henry the Eighth having succeeded in causing his supremacy in the Church of England to be "recognised by the clergy, and authorized by Parliament," was desirous of establishing the like supremacy in the Church of Ireland, "forasmuch as Ireland was depending and belonging justly and rightfully to the imperial crown of England¹."

King's supremacy, first step to Reformation.

Year of our Lord 1537.

¹ Eng. Stat. 26 Henry VIII., c. 1. Irish Stat. 26 Henry VIII., c. 5.

Opposition of
Archbishop
Cromer.

But his desire met with a powerful opponent in Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, who had lately held the highest civil office of Lord Chancellor in the kingdom; and who, still occupying the first ecclesiastical dignity of Primate of all Ireland, exerted the influence derived from his publick stations, aided by the personal qualities, which he is related to have borne, "of great gravity, learning, and a sweet demeanour," in alluring his suffragan bishops and inferior clergy to support the Pope's supremacy in despite of the pretensions of the king².

Difficulties
arising from the
general state of
the country.

The general condition of the country; the disunion, dissensions, and mutual jealousies which prevailed among different classes of its inhabitants, especially between those of different national origin or parentage; the hereditary antipathy in the descendants of the earlier inhabitants against the sovereign, as not of indigenious extraction, nor a native of the soil; their prevalent disposition to indulge in resistance to his authority, and to seek assistance from foreign powers to support them in their resistance; the remoteness of their situation, which rendered them less accessible to the visitations of the king's power, and less fearful of his indignation; their continual intestine agitations, which had indisposed the mind, and afforded little convenient occasion for speculative inquiries, and for intellectual or spiritual improvement; the absence of any pervious extraordinary impulse for directing the mind to seek for knowledge, and the want of literary institutions for giving efficacy to the impulse if it had existed; the people's habitual subjection to their clergy, and the ignorance of the clergy themselves, and their blind and superstitious devotion to

² WARE's *Bishops*, p. 91.

their ecclesiastical superiors; the long and deep-rooted prepossession in favour of one, who had pretended to supreme authority in the church for three or four centuries, and whose character they had been accustomed to venerate as all but divine; and with all this a persuasion of the fact, that the earliest English king, who had claimed dominion in Ireland, derived his claim in the first place from a Papal grant, so that the royal authority, however it may have been afterwards upheld, had been originally, as they were taught to believe, founded on a power which it now sought to displace and supersede: these and the like impediments in the state and prepossessions of the inhabitants co-operated with the zeal of the primate, in obstructing the inroad, which the dominion of the sovereign was attempting to make on that of the Pope.

Upon the difficulties arising from the circumstances of the country it is not proposed to dwell; but as to the sentiment of the English sovereignty being derived from a foreign source, it may be briefly remarked, that the claim of the kings of England to the dominion of Ireland was independent of any Papal authority. Whatever right Pope Adrian may have pretended to possess or to exercise in the bestowal of that kingdom on King Henry the Second, he had by right, as Sir John Davies has remarked, "no more interest in this kingdom than he which offered to Christ all the kingdoms of the earth^a." And in point of fact, to use the words of Archbishop Ussher, "Whatsoever become of the Pope's idle challenges, the crown of England hath otherwise obtained an undoubted right unto the sovereignty

King of England's claim to the dominion of Ireland.

^a *Discovery why Ireland was never entirely Subdued*, by Sir J. DAVIES, p. 15. Edit. 1747.

of this country; partly by conquest, prosecuted at first upon occasion of a social war, partly by the several submissions of the chieftains of the land made afterwards. For 'whereas it is free for all men, although they have been formerly quit from all subjection, to renounce their own right, yet now in these our days, (saith Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *History of the Conquest of Ireland*,) all the princes of Ireland did voluntarily submit, and bind themselves with firm bonds of faith and oath unto Henry the Second, king of England'." With respect, indeed, to the Pope's imaginary right, and the consequent grant to Henry the Second, it has been stated that "the Irish parliament had occasionally acknowledged this to be the only legitimate foundation of the authority of the crown of England'." But neither by the statutes of King Edward the Fourth, to which reference is made as the foundation of this statement, nor by any other of the Irish statutes, can I authenticate this position. So that there appears to have been at no time any parliamentary recognition of the hypothesis, which represented the king as the feoffee of the Pope in derogation of the royal supremacy.

When, however, the king had determined to assert and establish his supremacy, in opposition to the Pope's usurped authority, there were not wanting numerous adversaries, and at the head of these was Archbishop Cromer.

Appointment of
George Browne
to the Arch-
bishoprick of
Dublin.

Meanwhile, an opportunity had been afforded for introducing into the Church a counteracting force in the person of a man, not inferior to the primate in moral and intellectual faculties, but whose

* Abp. USSHER's *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 115.

° *History of Ireland*, by THOMAS LELAND, D.D., vol. ii. p. 160.

mind was happily emancipated from the thralldom of Popery, and awakened to the genuine truths of the Christian faith: a man who has been handed down to posterity as of “a cheerful countenance, in his actions plain and downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people: and who, while he was Provincial of the Augustin Order in England, advised the people to make their application for aid to Christ alone, and for which doctrine he was much taken notice of, and not to the Virgin Mary and other saints^c.”

His character.

George Browne, whose character is thus briefly sketched by Archbishop Ussher, who is commemorated by Sir James Ware, as “the first of the clergy who embraced the Reformation in Ireland,” and to whose exertions, seconding his example, the Church of Ireland was mainly indebted, under divine Providence, for the commencement of her restoration to the primitive faith and worship, had been an Augustin friar of London, having received his academical education in the house belonging to his order at Holywell, in Oxford. Having become eminent among his brethren, he was made provincial of that order in England; and afterwards taking his degree of Doctor of Divinity, in some foreign university, he was incorporated in the same at Oxford in 1534, and at Cambridge soon afterwards. In the following March, he was advanced by King Henry the Eighth to the archbishoprick of Dublin, which had been vacant since the preceding July. It is reasonable to

Notice of Archbishop Browne.

Provincial of the Augustin friars in England.

Archbishop of Dublin, March, 1535.

^c Sir JAMES WARE's *Bishops*, pp. 349, 152. ROBT. WARE's *Life of Abp. Browne*, contained in the English edition of Sir JAMES WARE's *Annals*, and inserted between those of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

Patronized by
Lord Cromwell.

1535.

His election and
consecration.

suppose that the interval had been employed in making choice of a fit person for this elevated station, the arduousness and importance of which were greatly enhanced by the peculiar circumstances of the time. An acquaintance with the writings of Luther, and an attachment to the principles of the Reformation, together with his good personal qualities, recommended him to the king's favour; but his principal patron was the Lord Privy Seal, Cromwell, who, under the peculiar title of the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, administered all the powers annexed to the king's supremacy in England. Thus nominated by the royal authority, having been elected to the see by the chapters of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick's, and having received the royal assent on the 12th of March, before his consecration, the mandate for which had been issued the day after the royal assent, he was invested by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Fisher and Shaxton, respectively bishops of Rochester and Salisbury, according to an act then lately passed, with the pall and other archiepiscopal ensigns; and on the 23rd of March, writs were issued for restoring to him the temporalities of the see.

Commencement
of the Reforma-
tion in Ireland.

The arrival of the archbishop in his diocese was the first step taken by the Reformation in Ireland. There is an assertion indeed in Dr. LELAND's *History*¹, that "the spirit of religious disquisition had forced its way into Ireland with the succession of English settlers. So that in the famous parliament of the tenth year of Henry the Seventh, laws had been revived to prevent the growth of lollardism and

¹ Vol. ii. p. 158.

heresy." But the printed statutes of Henry the Seventh's reign, as well as Dr. BULLINGBROKE'S *Collection of Ecclesiastical Law in Ireland*, which embraces all the statutes affecting the Church, alike fail in supplying any proof of the latter position; except so far as it may be involved in the act, chap. 22, of the tenth year of that king, the year of our Lord 1495, which, following the precedent of an act of 1468, the eighth year of King Edward the Fourth, chap. 1, "ordained all statutes late made within the realm of England, concerning the common and publick weal of the same, to be accepted, used, and executed in Ireland." By this enactment, the English statute of the second of Henry the Fifth, chap. 7, which was directed against "hereticks and lollards," was adopted into the Irish code, in common with all other acts of parliament previously made in England. But amidst the mass of English statutes this act of Henry the Fifth was not specially noticed; nor was any new law established, nor old law revived, whence the growth of "lollardism and heresy" in Ireland may be reasonably inferred; whilst in the earlier narratives of the occurrences in that country, no vestiges appear of the spirit of religious disquisition having forced its way by means of settlers from England, and led to the entertainment of the reformed opinions, until the appearance of the new archbishop in the metropolis of his diocese and of the kingdom.

The archbishop soon found his new seat of dignity to be by no means one of repose and inaction, being promptly called upon to take a prominent and resolute part on the question of the supremacy, as well as on other matters which were judged to

Difficulties of
his situation.

needed correction in the Church. A body of commissioners was about this time appointed by the king, to confer with the principal persons in the country, for removing the Pope's authority from Ireland, and for reducing that kingdom to a conformity with England in acknowledging the sovereign power of the Crown, whether in things spiritual or temporal. Cromwell, the lord privy seal, who was the principal minister in the conduct of this affair, seems to have anticipated no serious impediment in early arriving at a favourable result. But the difficulties and perils of the undertaking were soon experimentally felt by the archbishop, by whom the insufficiency of the commission, the obstacles which it had to surmount, and the best method of supplying its defect and giving efficacy to the king's intention, were pointed out in a letter to his patron, of September the 6th, 1535, which at the same time sets forth in a striking light the illiteracy of the clergy, and the blind and superstitious zeal of the people^a.

Letter from Abp.
Browne to the
Lord Cromwell,
Sept. 6, 1535.

"My most honoured Lord,

"Your humble servant receiving your mandate, as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal; and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy, with his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people, whosoever should own his highness's supremacy: saying that this isle, as it is in their *Irish Chronicles*, *Insula Sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two

Violent opposi-
tion in the pro-
vince of Armagh.

^a *Life of Abp. Browne*. Cox, i, 246.

messengers by the priests of Armagh, and by that archbishop, now lately sent to the Bishop of Rome.

“Your lordship may inform his highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his highness’s commission, which your lordship sent us over.

A parliament recommended.

“This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders. And as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this island are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the Gospel. I send you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O’Neal will be ordered by the Bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship’s orders from the king’s highness: for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies.”

Extreme religious ignorance.

In pursuance of the archbishop’s advice, a Parliament was holden at Dublin in the spring of the year 1537, under Leonard Lord Gray, the lord deputy. By a statute of the tenth year of King Henry the Seventh, chap. 4, commonly called Poyning’s Act, it had been ordained, “that no Parliament should thenceforth be holden in Ireland, till the king’s lieutenant and council should first have certified to the king, under the great seal of the land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemed should pass in the Parliament; and should have received the king’s affirmation of their goodness and expediency, and his licence to summon the Parliament under the great seal of England.” But soon after the commencement of the present Parliament, “by the pleasure and content of his

A Parliament,

May, 1537.

Repeal of Poyning's Act.

majesty," Poyning's Act was repealed; and it was "enacted that this Parliament, and all its acts and ordinances should be valid, provided they should be thought expedient for the king's honour, the increase of his revenue, and the common weal o. Ireland⁹."

Act for the king's supremacy.

Confidential communications from the king's ecclesiastical vicegerent most probably made known what measures would be acceptable to the king. And hereupon a bill was introduced for enacting, "that the king, his heirs and successors, should be the supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland, and should have power and authority, from time to time, to visit, reform, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner, spiritual authority, or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of peace, unity, and tranquillity of this land of Ireland; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding¹⁰."

Act of Appeals.

Act against the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Another bill was introduced for taking away all appeals to Rome in spiritual causes, and referring all such appeals to the crown¹¹; and another, specifically "against the authority of the Bishop of Rome;" recounting the various mischiefs, temporal and spiritual, which attended the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome¹², by some called the pope, and the necessity of excluding such foreign pretended

⁹ Irish Stat., 28th Henry VIII., c. 4.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, c. 5.

¹¹ *Ib.*, c. 6.

¹² *Ib.*, c. 13.

power, forbidding all persons, on pain of *premunire*, to extol or maintain, by writing or any act, the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the Bishop of Rome within this realm; giving order to the justices of assize and of peace, to inquire of offences against this act, as of other offences against the king's peace; commanding all archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons, their commissaries, vicars-general, and other their ministers, to make inquiry of such ecclesiastical persons as offend; imposing an oath of supremacy on all ecclesiastical and lay officers; and enacting that an obstinate refusal so to do, be, and be punished as, high treason.

The passing of these bills, in assertion of the king's supremacy, and in contradiction and to the annihilation of the Pope's, was attended with much difficulty, especially from the daring opposition of the spiritual peers. But the foresight which had dictated the measure was not wanting in energy to enforce it; and the occasion called forth from the Archbishop of Dublin the following speech, distinguished more for its straightforwardness, brevity, and decision, than for deep argument or rhetorical display.

Difficulty of
passing these
acts.

“My lords and gentry of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland,

Archbishop
Browne's speech.

“Behold, your obedience to your king is the observing of your Lord and Saviour Christ; for He, that High Priest of our souls, paid tribute to Cæsar, though no Christian. Greater honour then surely is due to your prince, his highness the king, and a Christian one. Rome and her bishops, in the fathers' days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes to

be supreme over their dominions, nay, Christ's vicars; and it is much to the Bishop of Rome's shame to deny what their precedent bishops owned. Therefore his highness claims but what he can justify the Bishop Eleutherius gave to St. Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons; so that I shall, without scrupling, vote his highness King Henry my supreme, over ecclesiastical matters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles, England and Ireland; and that without guilt of conscience, or sin to God. And he who will not pass this act, as I do, is no true subject to his highness."

Its efficacy.

This speech of the archbishop was well seconded by Justice Brabazon; and whether the assembly was invited by his example, or won by his reasoning, or controlled by his firmness, or startled by his denunciation, the bills overcame all opposition, and were passed into laws. One particular species of opposition, however, was made to give way before a distinct enactment, which requires some words of explanation.

Summons of
proctors to
attend at Parli-
aments.

It had been usual for two proctors of every diocese to be summoned to Parliament, "to be there as counsellors and assistants to the same, and upon such things of learning as should happen in controversy, to declare their opinions, much like as the convocation within the realm of England is commonly at every Parliament begun and holden by the king's highness' special licence, as his majesty's judges of his said realm of England, and divers other substantial and learned men, having groundly inquired and examined the root and first establishment of the same, do clearly determine." But these proctors were now alleged to be "of their ambitious minds

and presumption inordinately desiring to have authority, taking upon themselves to be parcels of the body, and claiming that nothing can be enacted at any Parliament without their assent." And this they were thought to do, "not without the procurement and maintenance of some of their superiors, to the only intent that the said proctors for the most part, being now their chaplains, and of mean degree, should be the stop and let, that the devilish abuses and usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, nor of themselves, should not come to light or knowledge, that some good and godly reformation thereof might be had and provided¹³."

Their claims to be regarded as members.

The impediments caused by this opposition were set forth in a letter from the Lord Deputy Gray and Justice Brabazon to Lord Cromwell, as given in the correspondence between the governments of England and Ireland¹⁴; "advertising his lordship, that the Wednesday before Pentecost, being the sixteenth day of this month, the Parliament was prorogued until the 20th day of July next coming, albeit that the Commons and Lords made instant petition that it might have been prorogued until Crastino Animarum. But considering both the obstinacy of the spirituality used in this session, and having remembered, if the king's highness would send any commissioner hither, we thought it good to have the Parliament open at his coming, to the intent that the wilfulness of the spirituality being refrained, things for the king's honour and profit, and the common weal of this land, now by them denied to be granted, may then pass accordingly. The frowardness and obstinacy of the proctors of the clergy,

Letter from the Lord Deputy to Lord Cromwell thereupon.
May, 1537.

Prorogation of Parliament to July 20.

Obstinacy of the

¹³ Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 12.

¹⁴ *State Papers*, Henry VIII., Part iii., p. 437.

proctors of the
clergy.

from the beginning of this Parliament, and at this session, both of them, the bishops and abbots, hath been such, that we think we can no less do than advertise your lordship thereof.

Opposition of the
spiritual lords.

“After the assembly of the parliament at this session some bills were passed the Common House, and by the speaker delivered to the high house, to be debated there. The spiritual lords thereupon made a general answer, that they would not come in, nor debate upon any bill, till they knew whether the proctors in the convocation had a voice or not. Whereupon we perceiving that by this means they sought an occasion to deny all things that should be presented unto the upper house, where they were the most in number, and at every other session divers of them either came out, or else within three or four days many of them would ask license to depart; at this time nevertheless appearing, and having like licence continued (of a set course), wholly together, every day, in the parliament house; I, the king’s deputy, called to me all the king’s learned counsel, to debate with them about their doubt of their proctors; who not only showed unto them the opinions of the learned men of England, together with their own reasons, that the said proctors had no voice in the parliament, but also proved unto them by parliaments holden there, that it should seem by the entries of the rolls, that their denial or assent was not material, but that it was written under divers acts, ‘*procuratores cleri non consenserunt*,’ yet were the same acts good and effectual in law.”

Proctors shown
to have no claim
to vote.

Some imperfect sentences follow in the letter, which afterwards continues and concludes the subject thus:—

“Whereupon, considering their obstinacy, we thought good to prorogue the parliament for this time; and against the next session provide a remedy for them. And therefore, my lord, it were well done that some mean be devised whereby they may be brought to remember their duties better. Except the mean may be found that these proctors may be put from voice in the parliament, there shall but few things pass for the king’s profit. For hitherto, since this parliament, have they shewed themselves in nothing conformable. We think that no reasonable man would judge them to have such pre-eminence in a parliament, that though the king, the lords, and the commons, assent to an act, the proctors in the Convocation House, though they were but seven or eight in number, as sometime they be here no more, shall stay the same at their pleasure, be the matter never so good, honest, and reasonable. But it doth well appear that it is a crafty cast, devised betwixt their masters, the bishops, and them. It is good that we have against the next session a declaration from thence, under the king’s great seal of England, of this question, whether the proctors have a voice in the parliament, or not? and that every act, passed without their assents, is nevertheless good and effectual.”

Continuation of the Lord Deputy’s letter.

Necessity for checking the proctors.

Means proposed for so doing.

In pursuance of this letter, amongst the other acts “drawn and delivered to commissioners under the great seal of England,” in July following, “to be conveyed to Ireland, and passed there by parliament, which shall be holden at the being there of the said commissioners,” there was provided “an act to determine the authority of the proctors of the convocation, which take upon them now to direct the whole parliament.” It was thereupon enacted,

Act passed for quelling the ecclesiastical opposition.

Proctors declared not members of parliament.

that "the proctors should not be deemed or taken, from the first day of the present parliament, as parcels or members of the same, but only as counsellors and assistants; and that they should give no voice, nor should their assent be requisite or necessary to any act¹⁵." And thus a fatal blow was inflicted on that ecclesiastical opposition, which otherwise, in the persons of these representatives of the clergy, and under the management and dictation of their spiritual rulers, might have been effectual in defeating the proposed alterations, and in perpetuating the abuses and ascendancy of the papacy.

In the same parliament several other acts were passed, which had reference to ecclesiastical property, and materially affected the church and the clergy.

Act for first fruits.

The act for first fruits, taking for its precedent a similar act in England, enacted that all persons, nominated to any ecclesiastical preferment, should pay to the king the profits for one year, to whomsoever the foundation, patronage, or gift belong¹⁶.

First-fruits of religious houses.

Another vested in him the first-fruits of abbeys, priories, and hospitals: a previous act having provided for the suppression of thirteen religious houses by name; for the assurance of pensions to the abbots during their respective lives, and for the enjoyment of the possessions by the patentees, to whom the king should have granted them¹⁷.

Pensions to abbots.

Twentieth part of benefices.

Another ordained, that the twentieth part of the profit of all spiritual promotions be paid yearly to the king for ever: an enactment so well pleasing to the king, that he sent a particular letter of thanks to the lords spiritual for the grant¹⁸.

¹⁵ Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 12.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, c. 8.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, c. 16 and 26.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, c. 14.

Another prohibited the payment of Peter-pence, pensions, and other impositions, to the bishop or see of Rome, and the procuring of dispensations, licences, and faculties from thence; and authorized the granting of them by commissioners appointed by the king, in the same manner as by the Archbishop of Canterbury in England¹⁹.

Prohibition of
Peter-pence,
Papal dispensa-
tions, &c.

By another act of the same parliament, for encouraging "the English order, habit, and language," spiritual promotions were directed to be given "only to such as could speak English, unless, after four proclamations in the next market town, such could not be had." And an oath was to be administered to "such as take orders, and to such as are instituted to any benefice, that he would endeavour to learn and teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule; and to bid the beads in the English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach; and to keep or cause to be kept within his parish a school for to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient stipend or salary as in the same land is accustomed to be taken²⁰:" an engagement this which, by persons grossly ignorant of the purport of the statute in general, as well as of this specifick enactment, has been invidiously and injuriously misinterpreted into an obligation incurred by every parochial incumbent, of providing at his own cost a general gratuitous education for all the poor children of his parish!

English order,
habit, and lan-
guage.

¹⁹ Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 19.

²⁰ *Ib.*, c. 15.

SECTION II.

Difficulty of carrying the foregoing Acts of Parliament into execution. Archbishop of Dublin's endeavours to remove false objects of worship. King's Correspondence with him. Inquest of Commissioners into the State of the Kingdom. Impediments opposed to the Archbishop's exertions by the Lord Deputy. Necessity of fresh support from England.

Foregoing acts
opposed by the
Popish party and
the primate.

It has been judged convenient to notice together these several acts relating to ecclesiastical persons, as they were all passed in the same parliament of 1537, which passed the acts of Supremacy, and of prohibition of the Pope's usurped authority. Reverting, however, to these most important acts we must observe, that although the efforts for enacting them triumphed over powerful resistance, still in the execution of them no small difficulty remained.

And this indeed was to be expected. For long-standing prepossessions, whether personal or national, though they have not their foundation in reason, are not quickly to be eradicated; and, however little could reasonably be pleaded for an Italian bishop's claim to pre-eminence and power in the British isles, the idea of submission to his usurped authority was not more preposterous than it was inveterate. Thus a Popish party, opposed to the rightful prerogative of the sovereign, recognised as it now expressly was and strengthened by the law of the land, still persevered in its resistance; and at the head of that party was the primate, who, if he did not venture to act in open defiance of this two-fold authority, yet forbore to exert his influence in confirming and extending it; and was sedulous rather

and active in giving what secret countenance and patronage he dared to the opposition.

To such opposition an additional stimulus was doubtless given by the endeavours, made at the same time by the Archbishop of Dublin, for abolishing the false objects of Romish worship from the churches within his jurisdiction. His two cathedrals in particular, as there has been already occasion to observe¹, abounded with these symbols of corruption. In the church of the Holy Trinity, or Christ's Church, the reliques and statutes were innumerable; and in the walls of St. Patrick's a multitude of niches had been furnished by the superstition of the times with images of saints. These endeavours were about coincident in time with similar proceedings carried on under the royal authority in England; and the archbishop acted under the like authority, which had been recently acknowledged in Ireland by the late statutes, having received instructions from the Lord Cromwell to that effect². But in executing these instructions he was met with opposition, not only from the primate, but from those who were next in authority to himself within his own diocese; namely, the prior of the church of the Holy Trinity, Robert Castele, *alias* Payneswick, and Edward Bassenet, dean of St. Patrick, who were tempted by the emoluments accruing from those superstitious objects of veneration to resist the king and the archbishop, and to seek support in their resistance from the Pope³.

Archbishop of Dublin exerts himself to abolish images and reliques;

Resisted by the chief dignitaries,

This conduct of Archbishop Browne does not prepare us for finding him about this time the

Unaccountable displeasure of

¹ Above, pp. 70, 77.

² Cox, i. 256.

³ MASON'S *St. Patrick's*, p. 148.

the king against
the archbishop.
1537.

object of a solemn expostulation for neglect of the king's interest and of his own duty, and of a consequent menace of removal from his dignity, in a letter addressed to him by the king. On the contrary, when we have regard to his previous behaviour, as well as to the vagueness of the charges, and the uncertain and obscure evidence on which they are alleged, we may probably not err in ascribing them to the disingenuous artifice of some secret enemy, working upon the irritable, suspicious, and capricious temper of the arbitrary sovereign. The letter, however, which is transcribed from the State Papers, correspondence between the English and Irish governments, part III. page 465, is as follows, having been written the 31st of July, 1537.

“To the Archbishop of Dublin.

Letter from King
Henry to the
Archbishop of
Dublin.

July 31, 1537.

Expression of
the king's disap-
pointment.

“Right reverend Father in God, trusty and well-beloved,
“We greet you well. Signifying unto you, that
whereas, before your promotion and advancement to that
order, dignity, and authority of an archbishop, ye shewed an
appearance of such entire zeal and affection, as well to the
setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, and
avoiding of all superstition used against the honour of the
same, as to employ yourself always diligently for your part
to procure the good furtherance of any our affairs, as much
as in you lay, and might appear to be to our contentment
and satisfaction, that thinking your mind to be so earnestly
fixed upon the same, that ye would persevere and continue
still in that your good purpose; yet nevertheless, as we do
both partly perceive, and partly by sundry advertisements
and ways be informed, the good opinion that we had conceived of you is, in manner, utterly frustrate. For neither
do ye give yourself to the instruction of our people there in
the word of God, nor frame yourself to stand us in any
stead for the furtherance of our affairs; such is your light-
ness in behaviour, and such is the elation of your mind in
pride, that glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in

re and us, in your dream comparing yourself so near to a prince in honour and estimation, that all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself, therefore, with this gentle advertisement: and do first your duty towards God in the due execution of your office; do then your duty towards us, in the advancement of our affairs there, and in the signification hither, from time to time, of the state of the same: and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion.

“If this will not serve to induce you to it, but that ye will still so persevere in your fond folly and ingrate ungentleness that ye cannot remember what we have done, and how much above many others ye be bound, in all the points before touched, to do your duty, let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able, for the not doing thereof, to remove you again, and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place, both for our discharge against God, and for the comfort of our good subjects there, as we were at the beginning to prefer you, upon hope that you would in the same do your office, as to your profession, and our opinion conceived of you, appertaineth.”

The king threatens to remove him.

A letter, in many respects similar, was at the same time written by the king to Staples, bishop of Meath. It states that the king had advanced him to his bishoprick, on account of his zeal in preaching the pure word of God. It charges him with slackness and negligence, but not with affecting princely appellations: and contains no further threat, than that, “if he does not ensue this advertisement, the king will look upon him for his remissness, as shall appertain.”

King's letter to the Bishop of Meath.

In what manner Bishop Staples received this reproof does not appear: but the following answer from Archbishop Browne is copied from the 512th page of the volume above cited.

“May it please your most excellent highness to be advertised, that the 11th of September I received your most

Archbishop of Dublin's answer. September, 1537.

Justifies himself
from neglect in
preaching.

gracious letters, bearing date at your majesty's manor of Sunninghill the last day of July: which perused did not only cause me to take fruitful and gracious monitions, but also made me to tremble in body for fear of incurring your majesty's displeasures. And where your majesty writeth unto me, I have not endeavoured myself in setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, avoiding all superstition used against the honour of the same, I may signify unto your highness, of verity, that for my small abode here, there hath not these many years any of my predecessors so much exercised in declaring to the people the only Gospel of Christ, persuading and inducing the hearers unto the true meaning of the same, utterly despising the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, being a thing not a little rooted amongst the inhabitants here.

Asserts his activity in the king's
service.

"Touching the second article in your grace's letter, concerning your majesty's affairs here, I refer me to judgment of the most part of your highness's council here, how in that behalf I have used myself, being the first spiritual man that moved the twentieth part and first-fruits; setting forth, what in me lay, the like first-fruits of all monasteries, being before not motioned. But given it is to this land miserable, of behaviour or gesture soever men be, to have malignors: yea, and those that be of such subtle nature, that of others good proceedings themselves can find means to win the praises, which, if their doings were apparent, God knoweth right unworthy; that I beseech God send once amongst us more charity.

Explains his use
of the plural pronouns.

"Concerning the third and last article of your grace's letters, that I should use writing *we* and *us*, I trust it hath not been seen in me, unless it were at such times as I, with my two chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, directed our humble letter unto your highness, subscribed with all our names, concerning the accomplishment of your grace's letters, to the said chapters and me addressed, for electing the Dean of St. Patrick's: which if I did, most humbly beseech your highness to take it in good part, for assuredly it was by remissness of the writer, and great oblivion of my foreseeing the same; submitting my negligence unto your grace, upon my demeanours hereafter.

"Finally, certifying your majesty, that I received your grace's other letters, at this season to me addressed, in the behalf of Edward Vaughan, the queen's grace's servant, the contents whereof I have fully accomplished. Beseeching your highness, of your most accustomed goodness, to accept this my rude letter; answerable, even as I were personally doing my duty, proaching on knees before your majesty; declaring the certainty of all the premises with knowledging my ignorancies, desiring of God, that hour or minute I should prefix myself to declare the Gospel of Christ after any other sort, than of my part most unworthy have heretofore done before your majesty, in rebuking the papistical power, or in any other point concerning the advancement of your grace's affairs should not be prompt to set forth benignly, that the ground should open and swallow me. Certain sacramentaries there be here, which indeed I have spoken against, perceiving well that I have been the more maligned at; beseeching the blessed Trinity to give them better grace, and that your grace may see redress, as, when it shall be your determinated pleasure, your majesty may. So knoweth God, who preserve your excellent highness in your regality, long to persevere. From your grace's city of Dublin, the 27th day of September.

"Your grace's obedient subject,

(Signed.) "GEORGE DUBLINĒ."

(Superscribed.)

"To the king's majesty, his most dread sovereign lord, be these delivered."

The archbishop wrote a letter to the same effect to Lord Cromwell, but no further result of the imputations brought against him is on record.

At the same time the commissioners, who had been appointed to inquire into the state of the kingdom, proceeded on their journey, and pursued its object, by holding inquests relative to the several counties and towns that they visited. A summary result of those inquests, taken from the State-Paper

Humbly professes his duty.

Inquest of the commissioners into the state of the kingdom.

Complaints
against the
clergy.

Portion canon,
explained.

Archbishop of
Dublin's cause
for dissatisfac-
tion with the
government.

Office, is given in the correspondence between the two governments¹. Whence it is shown, that besides numerous complaints against the laity, some were preferred also against the clergy. Undue fees were exacted by the bishops and their officials for the probate of wills, and for judgment in matrimonial and other causes. Various priests were charged with extortion in the fees demanded for baptisms, for weddings, for the purification of women, and for burials. Some are accused for taking portion canon, which is explained, in one parish, to have been the taking, on a man's death, of his best array, arms, sword, and knife; and the same, even on the death of a wife during her husband's life: in another parish, to have been the taking from the husband, on his wife's death, of the fifth penny, if his goods were under twenty shillings; and five shillings, if above that amount: and in a third parish, the taking of one penny three farthings in the shilling. Some parsons, abbots, and priors, were charged with not singing mass, though they took the profits of their benefices: and the jury of Clonmell charged several of the regular priests in that part with keeping lemans or harlots, and having wives and children.

But, reverting to the position of Archbishop Browne, it may be remarked, that, although he had incurred the censure of the king for some imaginary neglect of duty, he seems to have thought that he had himself more real cause of remonstrance with the government, for want of the requisite encouragement to give efficacy to his exertions in his most difficult and invidious office. He was evidently impressed with a deep sense of the arduousness of his task, and the necessity of powerful co-operation:

¹ Part iii. p. 510, note.

a strong testimony to which is borne by the following letter to Lord Cromwell, dated January the 8th, 1538; and copied from the Lambeth library into the State Papers⁵.

“Right honourable, and my singular good lord, my bounden duty premised.

His letter to the Lord Cromwell, Jan. 8, 1538.

“It may please your lordship to be advertised, that within the parties of Ireland, which grieveth me very sore, yea, and that within the diocese of Dublin, and province of the same, where the king’s power ought to be best known, where it hath pleased his most excellent highness, through your good lordship’s preferment, to make me, under his grace, a spiritual officer, and chief over the clergy; yet, that notwithstanding, neither by gentle exhortations, evangelical instruction, neither by oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, sithence my coming over, once to preach the word of God, or the just title of our most illustrious prince. And yet, before that our most dread sovereign was declared to be, as he ever was indeed, supreme head over the Church committed unto his princely care, they that then could and would, very often even till the right Christians were weary of them, preach after the old sort and fashion, will now not once open their lips in any pulpit, for the manifestation of the same, but in corners, and such company as them liketh, they can full earnestly utter their opinions; and so much as in them lyeth, hinder and pluck back amongst the people the labour that I do take in that behalf. And yet they be borne against me, and especially the observants, which be worst of all others; for I can neither make them swear, ne yet preach amongst us, so little regard they my authority. And that cometh, so far as I can judge, of the extreme handling that my lord deputy hath used towards me, what by often imprisonment, and also expelling me my own house, keeping there no hospitality at all. And so contemptuously he vilipendeth me, that I take God to record, I had, but that hope com-

His complaint of the perverseness of the clergy.

His ill-treatment by the Lord Deputy.

⁵ Vol. ii., p. 539.

forteth me, rather forsake all, than abide so many ignominious reproaches.

“But if your lordship would, for the good love and mind that you bear unto the mere and sincere doctrine of God’s word, and also unto the advancement and setting forward of our most excellent prince’s just title, send either unto master treasurer, the chief justice, the master of the rolls, or any two of them, whom I think meet for that purpose, such a strait commandment over me and all other ecclesiastical persons, as I perceive the king’s grace hath sent of late into England to the sheriffs of every shire; I would, God willing, so execute my own office, and prick other forwards, that be underneath me, by the authority thereof, that his grace and your lordship should well allow my faithful heart and diligent service. For until that such a thing, or more vehement, come amongst us, it is but vain to look after any amendment here, but always expectation of the former abuses. And to prove the same, there is never an archbishop nor bishop but myself, made by the king, but he is repelled, even now, by provision. Again, for all that ever I could do, might I not make them once, but as I send my own servants to do it, to cancel out of the canon of the mass, or other books, the name of the Bishop of Rome; whereby your lordship may perceive that my authority is little regarded.

Prevalence of
popish influence.

“I have advertised your lordship divers times, what inconvenience might fall for lack of dispensations; for in that point they be compelled to sue to Rome. Wherefore I think good, that with all celerity and speed it were necessary that we had dispensations, a vicar-general, and a master of the faculties.

A vicar-general
recommended.

“There is of late come into Ireland from Rome a pardon, much consonant to that pardon granted by Julius the Second, in time of the wars between the French king and him; and that was, that they that would enjoy it, should fast Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, next after they heard first of it, and on the Sunday consequently ensuing to receive the communion. And many, as it is reported, have received the same. But if so traditorous a fact, and like flagitious iniquities, should pass, neither justly exa-

Arrival of a pardon
from Rome.

mined nor condignly punished, being committed while the king's grace's high commissioners be here, seeing these men so ready and prompt to admit the Bishop of Rome's letters, and so sturdy and flinty against our prince's power; what will men think? I cannot in my conscience, considering my oath and allegiance, let such enormities escape, but make just relation, that the king's majesty may have sure knowledge how unfaithful a sort he hath in this land; and namely, the spirituality, which seduceth the rest. The living God knoweth my heart, who ever prosper your lordship with immortal felicity.—Amen. From the king's city of Dublin, the 8th day of January.

“Your lordship's at commandment,

(Signed.)

“GEORGE DUBLIN.”

(Superscribed.)

“To the right honourable and his most especial good lord, the Lord Privy Seal, be these letters delivered.”

Early in the year 1538, Cowley, the king's solicitor, and White, “exercising the office of justice of his highness' liberty of the county of Wexford,” inspected the said county, and also the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary; and “by virtue of the king's commission taxed and made an extent of the value of the twentieth part, and the first-fruits, of all benefices in the said counties, and returned the same into the king's chancery in Ireland.” In a letter to the Lord Privy Seal⁶, White gives a report of their proceedings, and introduces an account of a sermon which he had heard at Waterford from one Dr. Sall, a gray friar, who had inveighed against “the breaking or putting down of churches, and making them prophane places, as they do nowadays in divers places;” and had in consequence been apprehended by the mayor of the city, and sent to the Lord Deputy and council, and by them impri-

Inspection of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary.
1538.

Justice White's letter to Lord Cromwell.

⁶ *State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., p. 562.

Commendation
of the Lord
Butler.

soned in the castle of Dublin. "So as now," observes the narrator, "what for fear they have to preach their old traditions, and the little or no good will they have to preach the verity, all is put to silence. Yet, thanks be to God," he adds, "his king's majesty hath one Catholick city, and one champion, the Lord Butler, in the land, that dare repugn against the detestable abusions of so sundry sects, as this miserable land is in manner overflowed withal, whose pharisaical ceremonies and hypocrisy, of so long time continued here, hath not only trained and brought the people, in manner, wholly from the knowledge of God, but also in an evil and erroneous opinion of the king's most noble grace, and of all those that, under his majesty, be the setters forth of the true word of God, and repugnators against those abuses⁷."

His family and
parentage.

The family of Butler, which was settled in England under the Norman William, had accompanied Henry the Second to Ireland in 1172. Pierce, earl of Ormonde and Ossory, was at the head of the family at this time; and the Lord Butler, here mentioned with such honour, was the son of the Earl of Ossory. He was himself treasurer of Ireland, and admiral of the kingdom. It is matter of no common interest to read the testimony of such a nobleman, as conveyed under his own hand in a letter to the king, concerning the necessity of the religious instruction, in order to the civil improvement, of Ireland; and it is not displeasing to speculate on the impression, which may have been made on the king's mind by Lord Butler's ingenuous commendation of one, on whom the king had been induced to look with disapprobation.

⁷ *State Papers*, as above p. 563.

"My most humble duty promised to your most excellent majesty. It may please the same to be advertised, that your grace's commissioners here have consulted with my lord, my father, me, and others of your majesty's privy council here, coveting the subversion and extinguishing of abusions and enormities used here; and finally have devised certain rules and orders, whereby your highness's laws and good civility may be planted and established, to the increase of your majesty's honour and profit, and the common weal of your grace's subjects, which proceedeth in good sort, trusting consequently to have good success. To the furthering whereof I shall endeavour me to do my diligence, as your grace's commissioners here may more amply express to your highness.

Letter from Lord James Butler to the king.

"And, undoubtedly, I think nothing more necessary to induce the people to good civility, than sincerely and truly to set forth the word of God to the people here, as hath by your most excellent highness been dilated and pronounced within your grace's realm of England, as a lanthorn to all other good Christian princes to use the same; whereby they might see and perceive the long fraudulent traditions, and detestable abusions, of the papistical sect and pharisaical sort, of the which there be too many of high degrees here; and the good people to be led by true doctrine to the very infallible light of truth. And for my part, I, as one professed of Christ's religion, shall not omit for any fear, persecution, or other respect, to further and set forth the same effectually, to the uttermost of my power, according my bounden duty to Christ, and under him to your majesty; wherein the Archbishop of Dublin hath, by many predications, very fruitful now of late dilated, more than ever I heard in your grace's land, of the truth and plainness worthy high thanks.

Preaching the word of God necessary to the civil improvement of the people.

Commendation of the Abp. of Dublin.

"Beseeching Almighty God to continue your most excellent majesty long in felicity. Written at your highness's city of Dublin, the last day of March.

"Your most humble and bounden

"Subject and servant,

(Superscribed.)

(Signed.)

"JAMES BUTLER."

"To our Sovereign Lord the King's
most excellent Majesty."

Archbishop
Browne's sense
of his singular
position.

In his correspondence with the Lord Privy Seal, between two and three months antecedent to the date of Lord Butler's letter to the king, the archbishop had disclosed his views of his singular position. Similar feelings manifestly dictated the following letter, written by him on the 8th of April, 1538, to the Lord Cromwell, showing his strong conviction of the obstacles which beset him from his opponents, and of the necessity of additional support from England, and of more active co-operation from the Irish government^a.

Letter from the
Archbishop of
Dublin to the
Lord Cromwell.
April, 1538.

"Right honourable, and my singular good Lord,

"I acknowledge my bounden duty to your lordship's good-will to me, next to my Saviour Christ's, for the place I now possess. I pray God to give me his grace, to execute the same to his glory, and his highness's honour, with your lordship's instructions.

Character of the
Popish clergy
and people.

"The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing: most of the clergy, as your lordship hath had from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak right words in the mass or liturgy; as being not skilled in the Latin grammar, so that a bird might be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country; these sorts, though not scholars, yet crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders. George, my brother of Armagh, doth under-hand occasion quarrels, and is not active to execute his highness's orders in his diocese.

His prayer for
support from
England.

"I have observed your lordship's letter of commission, and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing. I will not put others in their livings, till I do know your lordship's pleasure; for it is meet I acquaint you first. The Romish reliques and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin took off the common people from the true worship; but the prior and the dean find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words. Therefore send, in your lordship's next to me, an order more full, and a chide

^a *Life of Abp. Browne.*

to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome, to be encouraged; and, if it be not hindered, before they have a mandate from the Bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long, before his highness can submit them to his grace's orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, *The Blacksmith's Son*.

Apprehension of
interference
from Rome.

"The Duke of Norfolk is, by Armagh and the clergy, desired to assist them, not to suffer his highness to alter church-rates here in Ireland. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person; for Rome hath a great kindness for that duke, for it is so talked here, and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great favour for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness; and so have got, since the act passed, great indulgences for rebellion; therefore my hopes are lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders. God keep your lordship from your enemies here and in England^o."

SECTION III.

Pope's encouragement to resist the King's claims. Bull of Excommunication. Removal of Images from Churches. Image worship encouraged by Lord Deputy. Archbishop Browne's diligence in preaching. Form of Beads or Prayers. Resistance of the Clergy. Visitation by the Privy Council. Archbishop Browne's purpose of visiting remote parts of the country.

THE anticipated encouragement from the Pope, in opposition to the king's claim on the allegiance of the people, was not long in coming; and it came after that manner, according to which it has ever been the presumptuous policy of the papal power, to protect an usurpation the most unjust and tyrannical.

Pope's bull of
excommunica-
tion.

^o *Life of Abp. Browne.*

nical by the most profane and bitter imprecations. The information was conveyed by the archbishop to the Lord Cromwell, the ensuing May, in the following letter :—

Letter from
Archbishop
Browne to the
Lord Cromwell.
May, 1538.

“ Right honourable,

“ My duty premised : it may please your lordship to be advertised, sithence my last, there has come to Armagh and his clergy, a private commission from the Bishop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious highness's people, here in this nation, to own his royal supremacy ; and joining a curse to all them and theirs, who shall not within forty days confess to their confessors, after the publishing of it to them, that they have done amiss in so doing. The substance, as our secretary hath translated the same into English, is thus :—

Popish vow of
obedience.

“ I, A.B., from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, mother of God, of St. Peter, of the holy apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the Holy Sec of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope of Rome, and his successors, in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother church, or to the regality of St. Peter.

“ I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the mother church of Rome.

“ I do likewise promise to confer, defend, and promote, if not personally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome, and her laws, against all whatsoever resisting the same.

“ I further vow to oppugn all hereticks, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands, contrary to the mother church of Rome ; and in case any such to be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience and opportunity I can possess.

“ I count all acts, made or to be made by heretical

powers, of no force, or to be practised or obeyed by myself, or any other son of the mother Church of Rome.

“ I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil, above the authority of the mother Church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the mother Church’s opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto; so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy evangelists help, &c.”

“ His highness the viceroy of this nation, is of little or no power with the old natives; therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than I am able. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed that ever since his highness’s ancestors had this nation in possession, the *old natives have been craving foreign powers*, to assist and rule them. And now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your lordship’s orders, and do lay aside their national old quarrels, which I fear will, if anything will, cause a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God I may be a false prophet; yet your good lordship must pardon mine opinion, for I write it to your lordship as a warning¹.”

Practice of the Irish to seek aid from foreign powers.

This bull of excommunication from the Pope was intended not to be a mere *brutum fulmen*, but to be the harbinger of more open and determined hostility against the king and his liege subjects, who dared to resist the aggressions of the papal tyranny. About Midsummer a Franciscan friar, named Thady Birne, was apprehended; and, having been put into the pillory, was confined in prison, until the king’s order should arrive for his transmission to England. But terrified by the report that he was to be put to death, he committed suicide on the 24th of July in the

Apprehension of a Franciscan friar.

¹ Cox’s *Hist.*, i., 257, 258.

castle of Dublin; and amongst other papers, was found in his possession the following letter to O'Neal, dated at Rome April the 28th, 1538, exciting him to rebellion in the names of the Pope and cardinals, and under the signature of the bishop of Metz.

Letter to O'Neal
from the Bishop
of Metz.
April, 1538.

"My son O'Neal,

"Thou and thy fathers are all along faithful to the mother Church of Rome. His Holiness Paul, now Pope, and the council of the holy fathers there, have lately found out a prophecy there remaining, of one St. Lascianus, an Irish Bishop of Cashel, wherein he saith, that the mother Church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the Catholick faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy and his holiness' enemies; for when the Roman faith there perisheth, the see of Rome falleth also. Therefore the council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland as a sacred island; being certified, whilst the mother Church hath a son of worth as yourself, and those that shall succour you and join therein, that she will never fall; but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite of fate.

Charge to suppress heresy.

"Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the [care of the] Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the heavenly host of heaven.—Amen.

"EPISCOPUS METENSIS²."

O'Neal declares
himself cham-
pion of the
papacy.
1539.

This and the like solicitations to rebellion and treason, in behalf of the Bishop and Church of Rome, were not lost upon O'Neal, who early in the following year, declared himself the champion of the papacy; or upon others of the Irish leaders, to whom they appear to have been addressed, and who, engaging in a confederacy, took the field, and committed great devastations, till they were defeated by the foresight and valour of the Lord Deputy and Sir William

² WARE'S *Life of Alp. Browne*. Cox's *Hist.*, i., 253.

Brereton. But, instead of dwelling on these transactions, our business rather is to relate that, notwithstanding all opposition both from within and from without, the reformation of the Church was slowly but progressively advancing, and thus giving an earnest and opening the way of further improvements.

In particular, the Archbishop of Dublin at length succeeded in the accomplishment of his design of removing the monuments of superstition from his two cathedrals, and from the rest of the churches in his diocese: and especially the miraculous staff of St. Patrick, which had been plundered from the cathedral of Armagh, and presented to that of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, in 1180, and had since been treasured up as one of its most valuable reliques, was publickly committed to the flames and burnt; and the images in general were displaced, and in their room were substituted the creed, the Lord's-prayer, and the ten commandments, decently framed and ornamented³. About the same time these objects of idolatrous worship elsewhere were generally defaced or removed, after the example which had been set in England. Thus an image of our blessed Saviour on the cross, in the abbey of Ballybogan, in the diocese of Meath, which had been held in great veneration, was publickly destroyed by fire⁴; and the same fate befell the equally venerated image of the blessed Virgin, in the abbey of the canons regular, at Trim, in the same diocese; and the oblations and treasures, which many superstitious votaries had offered there, were at the same time taken and carried away.

But in these latter instances, whatever may have been the archbishop's good will on the occasion, he

Images and reliques removed from churches.

³ WARE'S *Bishops*.

⁴ ARCHDALI, p. 515.

Letter from
Archbishop
Browne to Lord
Cromwell on the
occasion.
June, 1538.

appears to have had no concern in the transaction. He had been accused, indeed, of such an intention early in the year in which it occurred; but had defended himself against the charge in a letter to the Lord Privy Seal, dated the 20th of June, 1538:—"For that I endeavour myself, and also cause others of my clergy, to preach the Gospel of Christ, and to set forth the king's causes, there goeth a common bruit among the Irishmen, that I intend to pluck down our Lady of Trim, with other places of pilgrimages, as the Holy Cross, and such like; which, indeed, I never attempted, although my conscience would right well serve me to oppress such idols. But undoubted they be the adversaries of God's word, which have kindled the same, thinking it will be to my reproach, that I pray God amend them; fearing, that all those of this country, being now there, which feign themselves outwardly to be the maintainers of the Gospel, it is not inwardly conceived in their hearts⁵."

The Lord Deputy
in favour of
image-worship.

But, however this be, in any attempt, which had for its object the removal of idolatry from the country, no assistance was rendered by the Lord Deputy. For, although in an incursion into the north, he had burned the cathedral church of Down, and converted it into a stable⁶, and defaced the monuments of the Saints Patrick, Brigid, and Columba⁷; and rifled the abbey of Ballyclare, and left neither chalice, cross, nor bell in it⁸; and seized and confiscated the ornaments of the church of Galway on an incursion into the west⁹; and committed many

⁵ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii.
p. 35.

⁶ LOFTUS MS. Marsh's Library.

⁷ *WARE'S Annals*.

⁸ COX, i. 265.

⁹ *HARDIMAN'S Galway*, p. 239.

other acts of sacrilege for which he was afterwards brought to trial; nevertheless he was a favourer and practiser of image-worship, and generally well-disposed to the Popish corruptions. "This last week," says Lord Butler, in a letter to Lord Cromwell, the 26th of August, 1538¹⁰, "the vicar of Chester, sitting at my Lord Deputy's board, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, with others of the king's council, and I, there present, said openly before us all, that the king's majesty had commanded that images should be set up again, and honoured, and worshipped, as much as ever they were; and we held us all in silence in my Lord Deputy's presence, to see what he would say thereto. He held his peace, and said nothing; and then my Lord of Dublin, the Master of the Rolls, and I, said, among other things, that, if he were in any other place, out of my Lord Deputy's presence, we would put him fast by the heels, and that he had deserved grievous punishment. His lordship kept his tongue, and said nothing all the while. Surely he hath a special zeal to the Papists. My lord of Dublin promised me, at my departure out of Dublin, to put the said vicar in a castle."

Lord Butler's letter to Lord Cromwell, August 26, 1538.

Report of the king's order in favour of image-worship.

And in a letter of October the 20th, from Thomas Allen to Lord Cromwell, we read¹¹, "Here was a bishop and a friar put in the castle of Dublin for their high and notorious offences against the king's majesty; and at the last sessions were brought to Trim, to have been indicted, arraigned, and suffered accordingly. Yet our masters of the law, and all other, (in good faith, except my Lord Treasurer, and very few besides,) be such papists, hypocrites,

Letter from Thomas Allen to Lord Cromwell.

¹⁰ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 95.

¹¹ *Ib.*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 103.

and worshippers of idols, that they were not indicted: whereat my Lord of Dublin, Mr. Treasurer, and the Master of the Rolls, were very angry. Howbeit they could not remedy it. They three would not come in the chapel, where the idol of Trim stood, to the intent they would not occasion the people: notwithstanding my Lord Deputy, very devoutly kneeling before her, heard three or four masses."

The Lord Deputy an idolater.

Archbishop Browne's diligence in preaching.

Thomas Agard's letter to Lord Cromwell, April, 1538.

Encouragement given to the Pope's adherents.

Another method for promoting the Reformation, practised by the archbishop, was the diligent preaching of the Gospel, in which he employed himself assiduously; but under what obstacles and hindrances may be partly collected from the following extract of a letter, addressed the 5th of April, 1538, to Lord Cromwell, by Thomas Agard¹²: "Here as yet the blood of Christ is clean blotted out of all men's hearts, what with that monster, the Bishop of Rome, and his adherents, in especial the false and crafty bloodsuckers, the Observants, as they will be called most holiest, so that there remains more virtue in one of their coats and knotted girdles, than ever was in Christ and his passion. It is hard, my good lord, for any poor man to speak against their abusions here. For, except it be the Archbishop of Dublin, which doth here in preaching set forth God's word, with due obedience to their prince, and my good Lord Butler, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Treasurer, and one or two more which are of small reputations, here is else none, from the highest, may abide the hearing of it, spiritual, as they call them, nor temporal; and in especial, they that here rule all, that be the temporal lawyers, which have the king's fee."

¹² *State Papers*, vol. ii, part iii, 570.

Another method used by the archbishop was that of putting forth, as Ordinary, under his seal, a certificate of the lawful supremacy of the king, and of the nullity of the Pope's supremacy, under the title of "The Form of the Beads," or prayers, to be addressed by all the clergy to the people, directing them what they should pray for.

Form of prayers
put out by Arch-
bishop Browne.

"Ye shall pray for the universal Catholick Church, both quick and dead; and especially for the Church of England and Ireland." The phrase is not in the plural "churches," but in the singular "church;" and it occurs five times more in the course of the instrument. First the Form calls upon the people to "pray for the king, supreme head in earth, immediate under God, of the said Church." It sets forth, that "the unlawful jurisdiction, long usurped by the Bishop of Rome, then called Pope, is now by God's law, by authority of parliament, and by and with the whole consent and agreement of all the bishops, prelates, and both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also the whole clergy both of England and Ireland, extinct and ceased for ever, as of no strength, value, or effect in the Church of England and Ireland." It alleges the like acknowledgment of the king's supremacy: and accordingly it declares that "every true Christian subject of this land ought, not only to acknowledge and obediently recognise the king's highness to be supreme head in earth of the Church of England and Ireland, but also to speak, publish, and teach their children and servants the same, and to show unto them, how that the said Bishop of Rome hath heretofore usurped not only upon God, but also upon our princes." It declares this to be true, not only of the speaker's knowledge, but "that the same is certified unto me

Churches of
England and Ire-
land identified.

Duty of acknow-
ledging the king's
supremacy.

from the might of my ordinary, the Archbishop of Dublin, under his seal, which I have here ready to show you."

Exhortation to
deface the Bishop
of Rome from
primers and
other books ;

"Therefore," continues the Form, "I exhort you all, that ye deface him, the said Bishop of Rome, in all your primers, and other books, where he is named Pope; and that ye shall have from henceforth no confidence nor trust in him, nor in his bulls, or letters of pardons, which beforetime with his juggling casts of binding and loosing, he sold unto you for your money, promising you therefore forgiveness of your sins, where of truth no man can forgive sins, but God only; and also that ye fear not his great thunder-claps of excommunication or interdiction, for they cannot hurt you: but let us put all our confidence and trust in our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us, when we have offended him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly, that He is Christ, the Son of the living God, and that He died for our sins, and so forth, as it is contained in the Credo; and that through Him, and by Him, and by none other, we shall have remission of our sins, *a pena et culpa*, according to his promises made to us in many and divers places of Scripture."

And to put all
trust in our
Saviour.

Prayer for the
different orders
of men ;

The Form then directs prayer for Prince Edward, for the king's issue, for the bishops, for all the clergy, "and namely for all them that preach the Word of God purely and sincerely:" then for the nobility, in especial for the Lord Deputy and the king's most honourable council, for the mayor of the city, and his brethren, with all the commonalty of the same; or for the parishioners of the parish, and generally for all the temporalty: lastly, "for the souls that be departed out of this world in the faith

of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which sleep in rest and peace, that they may rise again and reign with Christ in eternal life. For these, and for grace, every man say a Paternoster and an Ave."

And for the
d. parted in the
faith of Christ.

But this provision of the Ordinary did not receive the obedience of all his clergy. One example to the contrary is furnished by a letter of the 8th of May¹³, wherein he advertises the Lord Privy Seal, that—

Disobedience of
some of the
clergy.

"On the first Sunday in May, being with us the translation of St. Owen, in whose church a prebendary of St. Patrick's, named Humfrey, of whose nature and condition I have partly declared unto your lordship heretofore, the very occasioner and author of the vilipension and contempt that I am in, besides discord and debate sown between me and my friends; this man singing high mass, as that day, because that he is there parson, at the time when that the beads is customably red, after the form and manner as I have devised, and set them forth for all curates; he himself thought scorn to read them. Wherefore his parish priest, according unto his oath, went up into the pulpit, and there began to read them unto the people. He had unnethes red a three or four lines, but the parson began the preface, and the quire sang, in so much that the beads were unbidden. And certain of the parish presented it unto me.

Letter from the
Archbishop to
Lord Cromwell,
May 8.

A contumacious
prebendary.

"Then I considered this man, first, how that he did himself stick to swear unto the king, and also moved other the same; seeing him also contemning my articles, devised for the furtherance of God's word, and the advancement of our sovereign's title of supremacy, being one of my chief church, promoted also within the city so nearhand me; I could no less do, but committed him unto ward, till I hear further of the king's pleasure. They be in a manner all at the same point with me. There is an twenty-eight of them, and amongst them all there is not three learned of them, nor yet scarce one that favoureth God's word. Your lordship might do a good deed to have a little thing

Severe measures
judged necessary
towards the im-
pugners of the
king's supre-
macy.

¹³ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 6.

put in practice with them, and that is *de non idoneis remō- vendis*: else it is but vain for me, or any other, to take pains in our prince's causes."

The latter part of the letter is on a different subject, but still having relation to, and illustrating the state of, the church:—

Mischief of auricular confession.

"On the first day of this term there was a letter brought unto me, intercipate, which should have been conveyed from the Father of Trim unto another of the same coat, which I have sent unto your lordship; wherein you may perceive their towardness, and yet great men in these parts may evil spare them for their auricular confession: for they may be bold to utter unto them treason and other. If they lacked them, I suppose they should lack much boldness to do evil. Where they rule, God and the king cannot justly reign. As knoweth God, unto whom I commit your lordship perpetually.

"Your lordship's,

(Signed.) "GEORGE DUBLIN."

(Superscribed.)

"To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, my Lord Private Seal." ["In haste."

The case of the disobedient clergyman, and its sequel, are thus pursued in another letter from the archbishop to Lord Cromwell, of the 20th of May¹⁴:—

Archbishop Browne's letter to Lord Cromwell, May 20.

"It may please your lordship to be advertised, that in my last letter, directed unto your lordship, I signified unto the same, that for his perversity and negligence I committed one Humfrey, a prebendary of St. Patrick's, unto ward, till time that I knew further the king's pleasure in correcting of such obstinate and sturdy papists; thinking that in so doing I should have been aided and assisted by my Lord Deputy and the council. Howbeit, spite of my beard, yea, and to my great rebuke, whiles that I was at an house of Observants, to swear them, and also to extinct that name, naming them Conventuals, my Lord Deputy

¹⁴ As above, p. 147.

hath set him at liberty. (So doth his lordship aid me in my prince's causes.) I think the simplest holy-water clerk is better esteemed than I am. I besecch your lordship in the way of charity, either cause my authority to take effect, or else let me return home again unto the cloister. When that I was at the worst, I was in better case than I am now, what with my Lord Deputy, the Bishop of Meath, and the pecuniose Prior of Kilmainham (Rawson.) God send remedy, who ever have your lordship in his safe tuition. At Dublin, the 20th of May.

Opposition made to him by the Lord Deputy.

"Your lordship may give credit unto this bearer, for he is my chaplain. I have committed now of late into ward the Bishop of Meath's suffragan, which in his sermon prayed, first for the Bishop of Rome, then for the emperor, and at last for the king's grace, saying:—'I pray God, he never depart this world, until that he hath made amends.' What shall a man think of the bishop that hath such a suffragan? Howbeit, I doubt not but that he shall be discharged; ask, and nought believe.

Difference between the Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Meath.

(Signed.) "GEORGIUS DUBLIN."

(Superscribed.)

"To the Right Honourable and my most singular good Lord, the Lord Private Seal."

The allusion made in the foregoing letter to Staples, bishop of Meath, arose from an unhappy difference which prevailed between the archbishop and him, caused by certain sermons which they had delivered in the preceding Lent, and in which each was said to have maligned the other, on the evidence of insufficient, perhaps slanderous, witnesses, of whom Hunfrey was one. Much crimination and recrimination followed, and hard words were used on both sides, little creditable in truth to the Christian profession, or the dignified station of either. In the end, articles, drawn up by each party, were sent to the Lord Privy Seal; but the dispute seems to have been adjusted between them

Its adjustment.

by his interposition, without pronouncing on its merits.

Visitation of four
counties by the
Privy Council,
December, 1538;

On the 12th of December, 1538, the council of Ireland, but without the Lord Deputy, with whom they were on terms of mutual dissatisfaction and distrust, addressed to the Lord Privy Seal a letter, in answer to a communication recently received from him. The answer was signed by Allen, the lord chancellor; the Archbishop of Dublin; the Bishop of Meath; T. Rawson, prior of Kilmainham; Brabazon, vice-treasurer; Justice Aylmer; and three other members of the council: wherein they say,—“Touching your lordship’s advertisement for the setting forth of the word of God, abolishing of the Bishop of Rome’s usurped authority, and extinguishing of idolatry, we have well begun therein already, and to our power shall persevere with all industry and diligence. Beseeching your lordship, from time to time, to ascertain us of such devices, as shall be there executed for that purpose, to the intent the same may take like effect here.” And in pursuance of this assurance, the Lord Chancellor, Brabazon, and Aylmer, accompanied by the archbishop, repaired, in the vacant time about Christmas, into “the four shires above the Barrow,” namely, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary, for the several ecclesiastical purposes above enumerated, as well as for “the keeping of sessions, and redress of the people’s complaints.” An ample detail of all their proceedings is given to the Lord Privy Seal, in rather a voluminous letter from Clounmell, January the 18th, 1539; to be found, as well as the preceding, in the *State Papers*, vol. iii., part 3, pp. 108—116. Omitting the civil affairs which employed

detailed in a
letter to the
Lord Privy Seal,
Jan. 18, 1539.

its

them, I extract the following account of their operations, as connected with the Church.

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They resorted first to Carlagh, where the Lord James Butler kept his Christmas: and being there very well entertained, from thence they went to Kilkenny, where they were no less entertained by the Earl of Ormonde. There, on New Year's Day, the Archbishop of Dublin preached the word of God, having very good audience, publishing the king's said injunctions, and the king's translation of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Articles of Faith, and Ten Commandments, in English: divers papers whereof they delivered to the bishop, and other prelates of the diocese, commanding them to do the like through all their jurisdictions.

Preaching of
Archbishop
Browne at Kil-
kenny;

The Saturday following they repaired to Ross. At Ross;

There, the morn after, the archbishop preached: which done, that night they went to Wexford, where the archbishop preached on the Epiphany Day, having a great audience, publishing the said injunctions, and doing all things there as they did at Kilkenny. At Wexford;

The Saturday following the Epiphany they came to Waterford, where the mayor and his brethren, during their abode, both well entertained them, and used themselves obediently, in conforming themselves to their orders and directions. There the Sunday my Lord of Dublin preached, having a very great audience; where, also, they published the king's said injunctions, and the residue of his pleasure likewise, as they did in Kilkenny, Ross, and Wexford. There four felons were executed, accompanied with another thief, a friar; whom, among the residue, they commanded to be hanged in his habit, and so to remain upon the gallows, for a mirror to all other his brethren to live truly. At Waterford;

At Clonmell.

At the writing of the letter they were at Clonmell, where, on the Sunday, the Archbishop of Dublin was to preach, likewise as he did in other places before mentioned, in the presence of all the bishops of Munster; "who, upon our commandment," it is observed, "be repaired hither for the most part already; and, or they depart, they shall be sworn to the supremacy of the king, and against the Bishop of Rome."

Oath of supremacy taken by two archbishops and eight bishops.

The letter concludes with a desire, "that it may please his lordship, by his next letters, to give thanks to my Lord of Dublin for his pains and diligence he hath used in this journey with us, in the setting forth of the word of God." And in another letter of February the 8th, written after they returned to Dublin, and signed by the archbishop, as well as his three companions, it is reported:—"At Clonmell was with us two archbishops and eight bishops, in whose presence my Lord of Dublin preached, in advancing the king's supremacy, and the extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome. And, his sermon finished, all the said bishops, in all the open audience, took the oath mentioned in the Acts of Parliament, both touching the king's succession and supremacy, before me, the king's chancellor; and divers others there present did the like."

Archbishop Browne's complaint of the Lord Deputy, for seizing his house and furniture.

A letter from the Archbishop to the Lord Privy Seal, about a week after the preceding, complains that, during his absence in the parts of Munster, "the Lord Deputy had repaired to Dublin, and there entered, not only into his place of Saint Pulcars, but also did take, and was still using, such his household stuff, as his said house was furnished withal, not only to his great hindrance, but also, on

his part, the debilitating of the word of God, which grieved him full sore. Nevertheless he did what he [might in accomplishing his duty; trusting that Lord Cromwell, when opportunity of time should serve, would obtain the king's grace's letters to the said deputy, for the restorance of his said house."

Much of this letter is occupied in commendation of the Lord Chancellor Allen, and in complaints of the Lord Deputy. But what is more important to our subject is the concluding paragraph, in which he says, "At such season as your lordship's pleasure shall be to send hither authority *ad causas ecclesiasticas*, God willing, I intend to travel the country as far as any English is to be understood; and where as I may not be understood, I have provided a suffragan, named Doctor Nangle, bishop of Clonfert, who is not only well learned, but also a right honest man, and undoubtedly will set forth as well the word of God as our prince's causes, in the Irish tongue, to the discharge, I trust, of my conscience. Which said bishop was promoted to the said benefice, by the king's majesty and you; and, by commandment of the king's highness, and your good lordship, by me consecrated; although as now he is expelled, and a Rome runner, who came in by provision, supported in the same by one M^cWilliam, a naughty traitorous person, governor of those parts, to whom the said Doctor Nangle, my suffragan, showed the king's broad seal, for justifying of his authority, which the said M^cWilliam little esteemed, but threw it away and vilipended the same. Notwithstanding that, my lord deputy will see no redress, for that his lordship is so affectioned to the said M^cWilliam, although his lordship had the king's highness letters in the favour of my said suffragan.

His purpose of visiting remote districts, with a suffragan.

Expulsion of Bishop Nangle.

The Lord Deputy's patronage of Popish bishops.

His deposition of
a bishop.

Nevertheless his lordship did a greater enterprise than that, in Obrenes country. He there deposed a bishop, which was likewise promoted by the king's highness; which bishop was at Clonmell at our last journey, and there, in presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Master Sub-Treasurer, and me, declared unto us the truth thereof. And, for as much as we could perceive, he was a right fatherly person; and he, that the Lord Deputy hath now promoted to the same, is a gray friar, one of the holy confessors of the late Garrantynes, even as rank a traditor as ever they were."

Conjecture as to
the deposed
bishop.

What was the issue of the intention above declared, does not appear; nor what was the result of the remonstrance in favour of Bishop Nangle. The deposed bishop was possibly Dominick Tirrey, who had been raised to the See of Cork and Cloyne, by the king's mandate in 1538, and was a favourer of the Reformation. Sir James Ware, however, does not notice his deposition, nor any papal interference with him so early as 1538, though he speaks of the Pope's appointment of a Franciscan friar in 1540, which, however, Bishop Tirrey successfully resisted¹⁵.

¹⁵ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 564.

SECTION IV.

Dissolution of Monasteries. Ineffectual recommendation for some to be continued. Twenty-four of the higher class suppressed. Letters patents, ordering inquiry concerning Images and Reliques, and other monastick property. Provision for Parish Churches deprived of Divine Service. King of England declared by Parliament King, instead of Lord, of Ireland. Effect of King's supremacy in nomination to Bishopricks. Provision for improvement of Religion. Death of Archbishop Cromer. Dowdall appointed by the King to succeed him. Death of King Henry the Eighth. Effect of his reign on the Irish Church.

MEANWHILE the dissolution of the monasteries, dissolution of monasteries. which had been commenced at an earlier period, was vigorously prosecuted, and effected to a large extent.

During his occupancy of the see of Dublin, about its commencement, the year 1528, Archbishop Alan had been one of Cardinal Wolsey's instruments in procuring the dissolution of forty of the lesser monasteries¹. Subsequently other abbeys and religious houses had been suppressed, and their property given to other persons by the king's letters patent, or vested in the crown by Act of Parliament, the provision of a yearly pension being made for their respective chief governors².

Thus in the Loftus MS., Marsh's Library, under and progress. 1536, it is stated, that "This year the religious houses and monasteries in Ireland were granted to the king, by the authority of parliament, to the number of three hundred and seventy: the yearly value whereof amounted to 32,000*l.*, and their

¹ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 347.

² Irish Stat., 28 Henry VIII., c. 16.

Commissions for
their suppression.
1537.

1538.

Ineffectual re-
commendation
for the preserva-
tion of some reli-
gious houses.

Their alleged
advantages.

moveables were rated at 100,000^l." However this be, it is certain that, in 1537, as appears from a letter to the Lord Privy Seal, Cromwell, from the Lord Deputy, and Brabazon the Vice Treasurer^a, by virtue of a commission under the great seal of England, and according to the king's pleasure, the Irish government had then lately suppressed eight abbeys, named in the commission, and had effected the assurance to the king of the lands and possessions formerly appertaining to them. And, in 1538, a report was made of a commission for the suppression of all abbeys, which called forth a recommendation from the Lord Deputy and council, that "six houses should stand and continue, changing their clothing and rule in such sort and order, as the king's grace should will them: which are named St. Mary Abbey, adjoining to Dublin, a house of white monks; Christ's Church, a house of canons, situate in the midst of the city of Dublin; the nunnery of Grace Dieu, in the county of Dublin; Connal, in the county of Kildare; Kenlys and Gerepont, in the county of Kilkenny. For in those houses commonly, and other such like, in default of common inns, which are not in this land, the king's deputy, and all other his grace's council and officers, also Irishmen, and others resorting to the king's deputy in their quarters, is and hath been most commonly lodged at the cost of the said houses. Also in them young men and children, both gentlemen children, and other, both of mankind and womenkind, be brought up in virtue, learning, and in the English tongue, and behaviour, to the great charges of the said houses; that is to say, the womenkind of the whole Englishry of this

^a *State Papers*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 438.

land, for the more part, in the said nunnery, and the mankind in the other said houses. And in the said house of St. Mary Abbey hath been the common resort of all such of reputation, as have repaired hither out of England. And in Christ's Church, parliaments, councils, and the common resort, in term time, for definitions of matters by judges and learned men, is, for the most part, used. . . . For which causes, and others moved and reasoned amongst the council, it was thought, the king's most gracious pleasure standing therewith, more for the common weal of this land, and the king's honour and profit, that the said six houses, changing their habit and rules, after such sort as shall please the king's majesty, should stand, than the profits that should to the king's grace grow by their suppression⁴."

A petition to the same effect, relative to their own house, was sent to the Lord Privy Seal by the abbot and convent of St. Mary, pleading, amongst other things, that "verily they were but stewards and purveyors to other men's uses, for the king's honour: keeping hospitality, and many poor men, scholars, and orphans⁵."

Petition from St. Mary's Abbey.

But no concession appears to have been made to this recommendation and petition. Accordingly, we find most of the superiors of the houses just enumerated in the list of those abbots and priors, who upon assurance of pensions during their respective lives, as provided by the late Act of Parliament, began now to surrender their religious houses to the king. The number of those surrendered was very great; and it would be tedious to particularise them: but,

General surrender of monasteries.

⁴ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 130.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 142.

Twenty-four of
the higher order
suppressed.

1539.

besides others of inferior note, a catalogue is here annexed of no less than twenty-four monasteries of a higher class, which are recorded to have been suppressed in 1539; and of which the fourteen abbots and ten priors were lords of parliament, and entitled to a seat and suffrage amongst the spiritual peers⁶. On this occasion, the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, in Dublin, were converted and changed, as expressed by the charter, into a dean and chapter; the new foundation, which has been since known by the name of Christ Church, being confirmed by the king in possession of the ancient estates and immunities⁷.

The following is a list of the governors of religious houses, whose abbeys and priories were suppressed, as above stated.

The Abbots of

Mellifont,	Dunbrody,
St. Thomas' Abbey, near Dublin,	Mage, <i>alias</i> Nenai, in the county of Limerick,
St. Mary Abbey, near Dublin,	Wony, <i>alias</i> Wethney, same county,
Balinglass,	Rossglass, <i>alias</i> Monaster- even,
Jeripont,	Bectif,
Tintern, in the county of Wexford,	Rathto, in the county of Kerry,
Douske,	
Tracton, in the county of Cork,	

The Priors of

St. John of Jerusalem,	St. Patrick's, in Down,
Christ's Church, Dublin,	All Saints', near Dublin,
St. Peter's, near Trim,	Athassel,
Conal,	Killagh,
Kells, in Ossory, Kenlis,	St. Mary, in Louth.

⁶ Cox, *Hist.*, i. 260.

⁷ WARE'S *Annals*. ARCHDALL'S *Monas.* p. 169.

Of the abbeyes here named, all belonged to the Cistercian order, except that of St. Thomas, near Dublin, and that of Rathto, or Rattoo, which belonged respectively to the orders of St. Victor, and of Aroacia. All the ten priories belonged to the regular canons of St. Augustin, except that of St. John of Jerusalem; those of Christ's Church and All Saints', Dublin, which belonged to the regular canons of Aroacia: and that of St. Patrick, Down, which belonged to the Benedictines.

Orders to which these abbeyes and priories belonged.

If, however, a voluntary surrender of a monastery was refused, compulsory means appear to have been enforced against the recusant. Thus, when Manus O'Fihily, the last abbot of St. Mary's, Thurles, would not surrender, he was carried a prisoner to Dublin, where he suffered a long confinement^b.

Compulsory means sometimes resorted to.

Still an entire dissolution of these establishments was not effected at the present time. For so we are informed by Sir John Davies, who, in his account of Ireland, written in the reign of King James the First, remarks, that "the abbaies and religious houses in Tirone, Tirconnell, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the 33rd year of King Henry the Eighth, were never surveyed nor reduced into charge, but were continually possess by the religious persons, until his majesty, that now is, came to the crown^c."

Dissolution not universal.

On the 3rd of February, in the 30th year of the king, being the year of our Lord 1539, letters patents under the privy seal were issued to William Brabazon, sub-treasurer of Ireland, together with John Aleyn, chancellor; George, archbishop of Dublin; Robert Cowley, master of the rolls; and Thomas Cusak, Esq., appointing, amongst other things, "that

Letters patents for an investigation concerning images and reliques.

Feb. 1539.

^a GROSE'S *Irish Antiq.*, ii. 85.

^b Edit. 1747, p. 253.

they should investigate, inquire, and search out, where, within the said land of Ireland, there were any notable images or reliques, at which the simple people of the said lord the king were wont superstitiously to meet together; and wandering as on pilgrimage, to walk and stray about them, or otherwise to kiss, lick, or honour them, contrary to the honour of God; and that they should break in pieces, deform, and bear away the same: and thus with all things pertaining, annexed, and adjoined thereto, they should utterly abolish them, so that no fooleries of this kind might thenceforth for ever be in use in the said land or dominion of the aforesaid lord the king¹⁰."

The commission also directed, with respect to such monasteries and religious houses, as were willingly surrendered into the hands of the king, and thereupon dissolved, that the commissioners should take for the king's use and possession all goods, moveable things, and chattels, lands, and revenues thereof; and sell and alienate the same, except gold and silver plate, jewels, principal ornaments, lead, and bells; and from the proceeds, and also from the revenues of the said monasteries and houses, if the goods and moveables thereof were insufficient, should pay all just debts, and all other reasonable charges, incidental to the said monasteries or religious houses. It also gave authority to the commissioners, to allow the chief governors and heads of the said houses such portion of the things aforesaid, as might be fitting for their rank, and appear convenient in the commissioners' discretion. And it directed them to provide for the sufficient and secure keeping of the jewels and other move-

¹⁰ *Publick Records of Ireland*, 1810—1815. Pl. VI. No. 3.

ables in their custody, to the use and behoof of the said lord the king.

In the Record Office, Custom-house Buildings, Dublin, is preserved a roll, which contains the foregoing commission, and, subjoined to it, the account rendered by the commissioners of the execution of their trust. By the kindness of Mr. Hardinge, the gentleman who has the official charge of this unpublished document, I have been very obligingly furnished with a translation of it, and am thus enabled to state the following particulars of the commissioners' inquiry.

Roll in Record
Office, Dublin.

The roll contains three distinct accounts, made by Sir William Brabazon, in pursuance of the commission directed to him and the other commissioners.

Commissioners'
account contain-
ed in the roll.

The first account gives a detail of the sum of 326*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*, returned by the commissioners in form following: "for the price of divers pieces of gold and silver in mass and bullion, and also of certain precious stones set in gold and silver, and of silver ornaments and other things upon divers images, pictures, and reliques, in the late monasteries, priories, cathedral and parish churches, and other places, within said land of Ireland under-written lately existing, broken and destroyed, and by said commissioners, by virtue of the commission of the lord the king aforesaid, into the hands of the lord the king taken, and appraised, and by the before-recited title sold." Of the thirty-five articles, which comprise this account, about six or seven are specified as the price of property belonging to religious houses, amounting to about 130*l.*; three, of property belonging to the cathedral churches of St. Patrick, Dublin, of Leoghlin, and of Ferns, amounting to 38*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*;

Price of property
in monasteries,
cathedral and
parish churches.

and the remainder amounting to about 160*l.*, as the price of property belonging to parish churches and chapels. One article, without naming any place, specifies 20*l.*, as being "the price of 1,000 lbs. weight of wax, manufactured into candles, tapers, images, and pictures."

Property in
abbeyes, priories,
and hospitals.

The same account also details by name thirty-nine monasteries, abbeyes, priories, and hospitals, out of which arose a sum of 1710*l.* 2*s.*, "the price of divers vases, jewels, and ornaments of gold and silver, and bells, and the utensils and household stuff of superstitious buildings, and other goods and chattels." Whilst some of the articles here enumerated did not exceed a few pounds, and were as low even as three, two, or one, others were of considerable magnitude: for example, the price of the property found in the monastery of Mellyfounte was 141*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*; in the monastery of Kells was 191*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; in the abbey of the Blessed Virgin at Trim was 186*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*, besides 40*l.*, accounted for in the preceding list; and in the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin, was 385*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*, besides 21*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* also before accounted for.

Property in
friaries.

The same account further details by name thirty-seven houses of brothers or friars, out of which arose a sum of 487*l.* 16*s.* 8½*d.*, being the price of property similar to the foregoing, and varying in the several houses, from 1*l.* in the house of the Carmelites at Kildare, to 57*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* in that of the Dominicans at Kilkenny.

Total amount.

The sum total of this first account was 2544*l.* 1*s.* 7½*d.* A second and a third account follow, consisting of the like particulars, to the amount respectively of 35*l.* 11*s.* and 130*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*: in all, 2709*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d.*

This is the whole amount of the property seized, as returned by the commissioners, who however give no detail of the property, nor communicate any information of its nature, other than by the general terms above reported: except that, in the first list, an account is rendered of 3*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, “for the price of divers silver or holy crosses, in the late abbeys of Kilcooley and Innislannagh;” and elsewhere notice is taken of sundry bells, appertaining to the different monasteries, which were committed to the custody of various persons, named in the account, who were to render an account of the same. Amongst these the following entry occurs:—“Nor do they” (the said accountants) “render any price for a bell, to the late house of brothers of Clane, at the time of the dissolution, appertaining, inasmuch as said bell came into the hands of Lord Leonard Gray, late deputy of the lord the king of his land of Ireland aforesaid, so that no produce in respect thereof came to the hands of said accountants, as they say upon their oaths.”

No detail of
the property.

A detail of the property might have presented us with some curious information concerning those “notable images and reliques,” the objects of the “superstitious reverence of the simple people of the lord the king,” the investigation of which was one special object of the commission. These no doubt were numerous. But it is most probable, that very few of the former were of any more valuable material than wood, stone, or composition; in which case they were broken in pieces, and destroyed by the express orders of the king’s commission: if of gold or silver, they would likewise be broken and defaced, and then sold as “gold and silver in mass.” As to the reliques, they also would probably be

Images and
reliques not
specified in
detail.

How disposed of.

destroyed: or, if valuable, be disposed of in the same manner as the images.

It should be observed, that the commission, of which the above account has been given, appears to have been issued in pursuance of the act of the 28th of King Henry the Eighth, chap. 16; which, whilst it invested the possessions of the monasteries therein recited in the king for the publick use, enacted also, that “the king’s highness should have and enjoy to his own proper use all such ornaments, jewels, goods, cattails, and debts, which appertaineth or belongeth to any of the chief governors of the said monasteries or religious houses, in the right of the said monasteries or religious houses.” And the foregoing report of the commissioners is a return of an inventory and sale of the chattels, reserved by this Act of Parliament for “the king’s own proper use” specially: the reason of the commissioners taking upon themselves so to sell being expressed in the account, namely, “the great need of the king in his wars with the Earl of Desmond and others,” and the sale being made with the consent of the privy council.

It should be observed, also, that the account includes the ornaments and other possessions, not only of the monasteries dissolved under the aforesaid act of the 28th of King Henry the Eighth, but of those likewise dissolved under the act of the 33rd, chap. 5: consequently it embraces a general collection of such chattels of most, if not of all, of the monasteries, and appears therefore to be a complete account, so far as regards the ornaments and other things, of which an exception was made in favour of the king.

which parish churches had been appropriated, having caused an interruption in the service of the cures, which had been served by members of the community, whereto they had been appropriated, in 1542 an act was passed for empowering the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, the Vice-Treasurer, the Chief Justice, and other persons of high official and legal stations, to erect and incorporate a vicarage in each of the several parish churches, which had been appropriated to religious houses dissolved, having no vicar endowed¹¹: a provision, which eventually proved very incommensurate with the evil. Meanwhile, in 1540, a commission had been issued, for granting annual stipends to the monks of the suppressed abbeys¹².

parish churches
connected with
them.

In the same year, 1542, an act was passed, that the King of England should in future bear the name of king, instead of lord, of Ireland, which had been previously his title¹³: an act, which, whilst it was especially pleasing to the king, was welcomed also with singular demonstrations of joy in Dublin, as one of great publick advantage. And "its publication was celebrated with memorable solemnity in St. Patrick's cathedral the following Sunday, in the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, and others of the nobility, in their parliament robes, and of several of the bishops and clergy, where a solemn mass was performed by the Archbishop of Dublin; and after the mass, the act was proclaimed in presence of the assembly, and *Te Deum* sung with great joy and gladness to all men. The same Sunday, great bonfires were made in the

Kings of Eng-
land declared
Kings of Ireland.
1542.

Proclamation of
the act in St.
Patrick's.

Public rejoic-
ings on the
occasion.

¹¹ Irish Stat., 33 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

¹² WARE'S *Annals*, p. 103.

¹³ Irish Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

city, wine set in the streets, great feasting in their houses, with a goodly sort of guns¹⁴." To give more cause for rejoicing, the Lord Deputy and council thought it good, that all prisoners, not confined for debt, or for any very heinous crime, should be set at liberty. And the king himself issued a proclamation for a general pardon.

The cause of
them.

The cause of this exultation was, that, though it was manifest, as the act declares, that the Kings of England had, by the name of Lords of Ireland, possessed all manner of "kingly jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, and authority royal, belonging or appertaining to the royal estate and majesty of a king;" yet occasion had been taken upon this difference of names to found a supposed difference of authority, and to seduce the inhabitants of this portion of the king's dominions from showing that obedience to his person and laws, which was according to their allegiance and bounden duties.

Motives to this
act.

This recognition of the supreme dominion of the king by his royal title had been recommended to the king's commissioners in 1537, by Allen, master of the rolls, as recorded in the State Papers¹⁵, on the special ground, that "Irishmen of long continuance have supposed the royal estate of this land to consist in the Bishop of Rome for the time being, and the lordship of the Kings of England here to be but a governance under the obedience of the same, which causeth them to have more respect of due subjection unto the said bishop, than to our sovereign lord." The same consideration had been urged upon the Lord Deputy Saintleger, both personally and in writing, by Staples, bishop of Meath, in 1538, "as

¹⁴ Cox, i. 270. *History of Dublin*, i. 193.

¹⁵ Vol. ii, part iii, p. 480.

doubting not, in short time, to have all Ireland then sworn to due obedience, the lack whereof, in my opinion, doth much hinder their duties to be done¹⁶." And Sir Anthony Saintleger being now lord deputy, for Lord Gray had been recalled early in 1540, the same recommendation was submitted by him and the council to the king's consideration the same year, as a recognition, to which all the nobility and other inhabitants of the land would agree, and which would cause those of the Irishry more gladly to obey his majesty, on account of their foolish opinion, that the Bishop of Rome should be King of Ireland.

The act was accordingly passed, to the great satisfaction of the kingdom. The proclamation of it in every shire of Ireland was one of its enactments. But in Munster particularly, the proclamation of it was accompanied by certain special ordinances, founded on the avowed state of general incivilization, lawlessness, and insubordination, prevalent in that part of the kingdom; and bearing melancholy testimony to the depressed condition of religion, and to the necessity of instant improvement: for such is the obvious inference from such instructions as these, "That bishops may exercise their jurisdiction in their diocese, according to the law of God and the canons;" "that laymen nor boys be not admitted to ecclesiastical preferments, and that such as be in already, shall be immediately deprived;" and "that all those who have dignities or benefices ecclesiastical, shall take orders and reside¹⁷."

Instructions attending its proclamation in Munster.

July, 1542.

The legal establishment of the king's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical was now operating in a very

King's supremacy shown in appointment to vacant bishopricks.

¹⁶ *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 30.

¹⁷ Cox, i. 270.

important department, and producing a sensible effect on the appointment to vacant bishopricks.

Before this period, such appointments had been of late made by papal nomination, the temporalities of the see being restored to the new bishop by the king's writ. But now the appointment proceeded from the crown; and if, as appears in a few cases, it is referred to a provision or provisional bull of the Pope, the nomination was rendered valid by the confirmation of the king, consequent on "the oath of allegiance being taken," or "homage being done," or "submission being made and fealty sworn" to the king by the individual nominated¹⁰.

From 1536 to
1547.

Circumstances of
appointments by
the Pope,

and by the king.

Thus in the interval of ten or eleven years, which elapsed between the enactment of the king's supremacy in 1536, and his demise in 1547, of about thirteen vacancies, which are recorded as having occurred in sees where Sir James Ware has ascertained the succession, the appointments to Clonmacnoise in 1539, to Down and Connor, and to Clonfert, in 1541, and to Clogher in 1542, appear to have been made "by provision of Pope Paul the Third," and to have been confirmed by King Henry the Eighth, on submission being formally plighted: agreeably to which, in his letter from Greenwich, October 8th, 1542, the king expresses his will in this manner concerning Clogher; "Ye shall understand that we have taken the submission of the Bishop of Clogher, and caused our council to receive of him his bulls and his oath here, which he yielded unto us, and we have given also unto him a new grant of the same, and 40*l.* in money¹⁰." On the other hand, the appointments to Tuam, to Cork and Cloyne, and to Clonfert, in 1536,

¹⁰ WARE's *Bishops*, pp. 174, 187, 205, 642.

¹⁰ *Rot. Can.*, 32, 33, Hen. VIII.

to Kildare in 1540, to Ardagh in 1541, to Armagh and to Emly in 1543, to Elphin in 1544, and to Killybeg in 1546, were primarily and entirely of the king's nomination and donation.

Particularly as to the cases of Emly and Elphin: in the letter from Greenwich, October 8th, 1542, the king directs to elect and consecrate Æneas O'Hifernan, "and to take his oath and homage according to the minute, which you shall receive herewith; which oath, our pleasure is, that all bishops, to be hereafter made in that our realm of Ireland, shall make unto us." The oath follows upon the roll²⁰. And with respect to Elphin, the king, Henry VIII., sent his *congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter of that cathedral, to choose Conatius O'Shyagal bishop. But they refusing to comply with the king's mandate, he directed a writ to Christopher, archbishop of Tuam, to admit, institute, consecrate, and invest him therein, March 23, 1545²¹, pursuant to letters under the privy seal to the Lord Deputy Saintleger, Westminster, July 1, 1544, "willing that by virtue thereof, as well you our said deputy shall make, or cause to be made, in our name, all such writings, as in such case be requisite, for the assurance of the said Conatius O'Shyagal to the same bishoprick, and also to take his oath according to our laws in that behalf ordained."

Oath of bishops
on consecration.

In certain instances, indeed, there were rival appointments by the Pope, as for example, to Cork and Cloyne in 1536, to Clonfert in the same year, to Kildare in 1540, and to Armagh in 1542; but these were rejected and rendered null by the king's authority, and the bishops of the royal nomination were seated in their respective sees with the exception of

Result of rival
appointments by
the Pope.

²⁰ *Rot. de Annis*, 32, 33, Hen. VIII. ²¹ *Id.*, 36, Hen. VIII.

Remarkable exception of Clonfert.

Clonfert, "where the king's majesty preferred one Dr. Nangle to the bishoprick, but one Rowland Burke purchased bulls from the Bishop of Rome, whereby he expelled the king's presentee. Whereupon, as I heard say," observes Robert Cowley in a letter to Lord Cromwell, "the king's highness wrote to the Lord Deputy to prosecute the provisor, and to see the king's presentee restored to his possession. Nothing was executed of the king's pleasure in that behalf, whereby general recourse is daily to Rome by religious men of Irish nation and papisticals; so that where, in time past, they repaired to the king's highness, to obtain his grace's determination, they go immediately to Rome, and obtain what they pursue, so that there be now lately five bishops in Ireland by the Bishop of Rome's authority, besides abbots and priors. And never so much suit from Ireland as now to Rome, all by permission and sufferance, without any prosecuting."

However, with respect to this particular case of Clonfert, Burke, who had been advanced to the see by the Pope's bull, afterwards submitted and swore fealty to the king, and obtained the royal assent in October, 1541, the Pope's bull having been first cancelled. With respect to the other bishops by the Pope's authority, if appointed since the act for the king's supremacy, they must have been those already enumerated, of Clonmacnois, Down and Connor, and Clogher, as having subsequently made submission and taken the oath to the king.

Of two or three other sees, which were vacant during the before-mentioned period, between 1536 and 1547, but in which the circumstances of the succession have not been distinctly recorded, it is to be presumed with a high degree of probability, that the

appointment was made exclusively by the king, as to Ferns in 1539, and to Ross in 1544. Kilmore is the only see which can be positively alleged as forming an exception to the general rule; of which Harris has stated it to be "observable that lying in an unsettled and tumultuous country it had been much neglected by the crown of England; and that even after the Reformation, the bishops of it succeeded either by usurpation or by papal authority²²." And from this there was no deviation till 1585, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Peculiar condition of the diocese of Kilmore.

Meanwhile a convincing example of the practical effect of the transfer of the supremacy from the Pope to the king, and of the consequent substitution of the royal instead of the papal patronage, is furnished by the life of a certain individual. In 1521, on a vacancy in the see of Limerick, King Henry the Eighth felt great anxiety, and laboured earnestly, in stead of the deceased prelate, to introduce Walter Wellesley or Wesley, for whom he entertained a high regard. But the king's favourite was rejected, and another person promoted by the Pope. Ten years after, namely, in 1531, Wellesley obtained the See of Kildare by the provision of the Pope, Clement the Eighth, at the instance of the king, who again exerted himself for his advancement. On Bishop Wellesley's death in 1540, by the like provision of the Pope, a successor was nominated; and as he survived only a few days, a second received the Pope's nomination. But the king, having been now declared supreme head of the Church of Ireland, rejected the nomination; and a successor of his own choice, William Miagh, was

Remarkable case of rejection of the Pope's nominee.

²² WARE's *Bishops*, p. 230.

consecrated, and maintained undisturbed possession of the see²³.

Remittance by
the king of a
debt from Arch-
bishop Browne.

In 1542, the king having made a grant of certain lands, which in great part belonged to the Archbishop of Dublin, but which the archbishop was contented liberally to release to his majesty, the Lord Deputy and Council prayed the king to remit to him a debt of 280*l.*, "in respect of his said conformity, and that he hath, sithence his repair into this your realm, sustained great charges in your highness' service; and came very poor to his said promotion, having no manner dilapidations of the goods of his predecessor; whereby he shall not only be the more able to serve your majesty, and be well requited for his said conformity, but also bind him, according to his most bounden duty, to pray to Almighty God for the long preservation of your most royal estate; otherwise we think the man shall not be able to pay your majesty, and live in any honourable estate"²⁴.

The king grants
the favour sought
for the Arch-
bishop.

The king granted the prayer in the archbishop's favour: "not doubting but he will the better apply his charge and office, and provide that there may be some good preachers to instruct and teach the people in those parts. Willing, therefore, you, our deputy and council, that you have a special regard also to this point; and as you may provide that they may learn by good and catholick teaching, and the ministration of justice, to know God's laws and ours together; which shall daily more and more frame and confirm them in honest living and due obedience, to their own benefits, and the universal good of the country"²⁵.

²³ WARE's *Bishops*, pp. 510, 389.

²⁴ *State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., p. 390.

²⁵ *Ib.*, p. 396.

In the same year²⁶, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland applied to the Privy Council in England for their assistance in checking an abuse which was prevalent among the Irish clergy. "Being advertised that some beneficed persons have resort thither, intending to sue for licences of non-residence, contrary to the laws of this realm, which, if they should obtain, were great hindrance to the common weal here; we shall, therefore, beseech your good lordships to move the king's majesty to stay such suits for licenses of non-residence."

Assistance
sought for check-
ing the clergy's
non-residence.
1542.

In the same year²⁷, among "certain devices for the reformation of Ireland," by John Travers, together with others for its civil improvement, we find the following directed to its spiritual good. "Whereas the inhabitants of this realm, for the more part, have of long time, and yet hitherto be, ignorant of the true doctrine of Christ, for lack of preaching the same, which hath caused them to neglect due obedience to God and the king; it shall be, for the remedy hereof, necessary that the Archbishop of Dublin, my Lord of Meath, and such others as favour the Gospel, do instruct the Irish bishops of this realm; causing them to relinquish and renounce all popish or papistical doctrine, and to set forth sincerely, within each of their dioceses, the true word of God."

Plan for dissemi-
nating Christian
truth by the
bishops.
1542.

In the same year²⁸, the king wrote to the Lord Deputy and council. "We think it meet, that seeing we have passed here the act for the continency of priests, you should in like manner follow, and do the same there; or, at the least, upon consideration of the state of the country, cause such a reasonable

Acts for the con-
tinency of priests.

²⁶ *State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., p. 418. ²⁷ *Ib.*, p. 431.

²⁸ *Ib.*, p. 428.

book to be devised and sent hither for that purpose, as may be to God's pleasure in the avoiding of that sin, and to the advancement of the honest name and fame of our clergy of that realm." By the English statute of 31 Henry VIII., c. 14, the incontinency of priests was made felony; but by chapter 10 of the next session, this statute, on account of its severity, was repealed for the first and second offences; and the crime was, in the first instance, made punishable with loss of goods, and, if the offender had more than one benefice, with the forfeiture of the revenues of all but one; the second offence subjected him to the forfeiture of all his revenues; and the third to perpetual imprisonment.

Plan for converting Christ's Church into a free school.
August, 1542.

The Lord Deputy had devised a scheme, which he communicated in a letter from himself and the council to the king, August the 27th, 1542, for having the perpetual residence of a council in Dublin; and as a house for their residence and their entertainment, he proposed to appropriate Christ's Church, which had formerly been a house of regular canons, and was lately converted into a cathedral with a dean and chapter, but which he thought might be spared for that purpose, as less well endowed, and less meet to be preserved and maintained, than the other cathedral of St. Patrick. Out of the revenues thus appropriated, a free-school also was to be founded, "whereof there is great lack in this land, having never a one within the same;" and for maintenance of the church of Christ's Church the parishioners of three or four small churches, nigh adjoining, were to be annexed to the parish of Christ's Church, and their own churches turned to some other use, and provision to be thus made for

preserving and maintaining the building, and for the necessary supply of ministers. The plan was again brought forward by the Lord Deputy, and pressed upon the king's attention, in a communication of June the 4th, 1543.

Plan again
pressed,
June, 1543.

The king, in his answer, admitted "the device to have a good appearance," and that "some fruit and benefit might thereby ensue to the realm;" and he expressed his pleasure to have a more particular declaration of the revenues, and of their intended employment: that he might resolve and determine the matter, as he should think most expedient.

King not un-
favourable to it;

Further deliberation, however, changed the sentiments of the Lord Deputy. The revenues on investigation proved to be less than had been imagined. Christ's Church was "the metropolitan church, in whose name or title much of the archbishop's lands was annexed to the see." The mayor also and commons of the city, having heard "that the same was moved to be changed from the name of a college and to be made a parish church, and that there were no more colleges of the king's new erection within the whole realm, and that their city would be totally defaced and disparaged," made earnest suit that the said Christ Church might stand as it then was. The result was a change in the purpose of the government, and thus Christ Church retained its character of a cathedral. The whole particulars may be found in the correspondence between the two governments; *State Papers*, vol. iii., part iii., pp. 414, 468, 484, 489.

Its failure.

The 15th of March, 1543, died Archbishop Cromer. Regard being had to the impediments

Death of Primate
Cromer,
March 15, 1543.

Surmises as to
his successor.

offered by him to the king's measures, it was to be expected that a man of different principles would be selected to succeed him in the primacy; and accordingly that a successor would be sent from England, as on the vacancy of the archbishoprick of Dublin, eight years before; or that Archbishop Browne, who had so diligently and efficiently filled that vacancy, would be advanced to the superior dignity of Primate of all Ireland; or that the station would be conferred on some other of the actual prelates, such as Staples, bishop of Meath, or Miagh of Kildare, or Sanders of Leighlin, or Tirrey of Cork and Cloyne, who are on record as favourers and promoters of the Reformation, and of whom Bishop Staples, in particular, seems to have been distinguished for his zeal and activity in the promotion of true religion, and to have enjoyed the king's good opinion and favour, being employed in several commissions issued at different times by the crown for ecclesiastical purposes.

Motives to the
new appoint-
ment.

But whether the principles of the future primate had not yet been disclosed, which indeed is hardly probable; or that the animating force, which actuated the king in the exercise of his ecclesiastical patronage, had been removed by the fall of Cromwell; or that the king himself, having succeeded in accomplishing his projects for his own aggrandizement, cared not for the spiritual improvement of the Church, and abandoned the cause of the Reformation, of which he had given indications, not in England only, by his conduct about "The Six Articles," but in Ireland by bestowing a special mark of favour and confidence on Archbishop Cromer, in his appointment, together with the Lord of Louth, as arbitrator

of such controversies as might arise in Ulster, on certain subjects specified in the edict²⁹; a very different nomination to the primacy now took place.

Another person had been recommended for the station in 1541, the son of a nobleman, the Lord Delvin, who had been Lord Deputy fourteen years before, possibly in anticipation of an earlier vacancy: for in an answer of the king to the letters of the Lord Deputy and council, dated the 21st of February, in that year, we find, "Where you desire to have a son of the late Baron of Delvins preferred to the archbishoprick of Armachan; we do consider the said bishoprick to be there a gréat and principal dignity, and therefore before we shall determine our pleasure in it, we would be glad to have the party sent hither, that we might both see him, and further know, how he is qualified for such an office: whereupon we shall more certainly signify our pleasure unto you in that behalf³⁰."

Baron of Delvin's
son recom-
mended.
1541.

In the following year, however, 1542, things were changed. For in another letter from the king we read, "We have granted, at your request, to Parson Doudall, both a pension of 20*l.* sterling, till he shall be promoted by us to a benefice exceeding that sum, or enjoy the bishoprick of Armacon, which we have also granted unto him, when it shall first and next be vacant³¹." This grant had been made on Dowdall's voluntary surrender of the Crouched Friary of Ardee, of which he was the prior³². Accordingly, George Dowdall, a native of the county of Louth, and official to his predecessor Archbishop Cromer,

Promise of the
archbishoprick
to George Dow-
dall.
1542.

²⁹ WARE'S *Annals*, Hen. VIII., p. 106.

³⁰ *State Papers*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 299.

³¹ *Ib.*, p. 429.

³² ARCHDALL, p. 447.

His nomination, succeeded to the primacy, by the interest of the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger⁸³, who had also procured for him the guardianship of the spiritualties of the archbishoprick during the vacancy, in which interval a synod had been held of the clergy of the diocese; and by the king's mandate⁸⁴, bearing date the 28th of November, 1543, he was in the early part of the following December consecrated by Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, and other assistant bishops: the mandate for his confirmation and consecration having been directed to Edward, bishop of Meath; Cornelius bishop of Raphoe; Eugenius, bishop of Down and Connor; Edmund bishop of Kilmore; Hugh, bishop of Clogher; Florence, bishop of Clonmacnois; Richard, bishop of Ardagh; and Thady, suffragan bishop to the Archbishop of Dublin.

Question concerning one of Abp. Dowdall's consecrators.

Who this "Thady, suffragan bishop to the Archbishop of Dublin," may have been, is by no means certain. The other seven, named in the mandate, were suffragans to the Archbishop of Armagh, in the sense of diocesan bishops, under that metropolitan. But in the province of Dublin there was, at that time, no bishop of the name of Thady. It is true, that on the death of Wellesley, bishop of Kildare, in 1540, a Franciscan friar was, by the Pope's provision, declared bishop on the 16th of July, but died in a few days. "Whereupon," as Sir James Ware states⁸⁵, "on the 15th of November following, Thady Reynolds, doctor of the civil and canon law, was by the like provision nominated. But the king, (being now declared supreme head of the Church of Ireland,) rejected this election, and advanced William Miagh to the bishoprick, and afterwards called him into his

⁸³ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 91.

⁸⁴ Rolls, 36 Hen. VIII.

⁸⁵ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 390.

privy council of Ireland." In endeavouring to ascertain who was the individual mentioned in the king's mandate, I have been struck by this identity of name: and it has occurred to me, as a possible, but hardly as a probable, case, that in drawing up the instrument a confusion may have arisen between the names of him who had been nominated to the see, and of him who actually occupied it.

. It appears, however, more probable, that Thady was suffragan bishop to the Archbishop of Dublin, in the sense of an assistant. The English statute of 26 Henry VIII. chap. 14, had "enacted that every archbishop and bishop of this realm, (of England,) and elsewhere within the king's dominions, being disposed to have any suffragan, shall name two persons to the king, who shall choose one." The preamble speaks of such suffragans, as "having been accustomed to be had within this realm;" and Dr. Bullingbroke, in his *Ecclesiastical Law of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 189, remarks upon this, that "These were the same with the ancient chor-episcopi, or bishops of the country; so called by way of distinction from the proper bishops of the city or see. And they were very common," he adds, "in England; taking their titles from places 'in partibus infidelium,' or from places in which, though there were fixed sees, and they had been ordained to them, they could not remain with safety; and upon this account we find several Irish bishops, from time to time, received and acting as suffragans, under English bishops."

Suffragan bishops
in Ireland.

After this manner, it appears from a letter of Archbishop Browne, quoted above, page 153, that, to assist him in preaching to the Irish natives, he had "provided a suffragan, named Dr. Nangle, bishop of

Example of one
under the Arch-
bishop of Dub-
lin;

Clonfert," who had been "expulsed" from his own diocese by a lawless governor of those parts, countenanced by the then Lord Deputy, Lord Gray. Of this Bishop Nangle, the archbishop afterwards repeatedly speaks as "his suffragan." It should seem, therefore, by no means improbable that he may have subsequently had the assistance of another "suffragan," besides or instead of Nangle, and that this Thady may have been the man; and this probability is increased by evidence furnished by Sir James Ware's report, that a Bishop of Ardagh, who succeeded to his see in 1553, had been "before a suffragan to Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh⁸⁶." This question has been examined somewhat more than on its own account it might deserve, if it did not appear to throw some light upon the administration of ecclesiastical offices at this period by means of suffragan bishops. As to the nomination of this individual, in the mandate for the consecration of the new archbishop, together with seven bishops of the province of Armagh, and the non-insertion of the name of the Archbishop of Dublin, whilst that of his suffragan was inserted, the case under both aspects is remarkable, but any inquiry in search of explanation could be answered only by conjecture.

To revert then to the Archbishop of Armagh; his consecration was solemnized in obedience to the mandate, by the Bishop of Meath, as the consecrating bishop, with the assistance of some of the other prelates named in the commission. Archbishop Dowdall is related to have been a man of gravity and learning, and a very assiduous preacher, but withal a most zealous advocate for popery: notwithstanding which, he was contented to accept his

And under the
Archbishop of
Armagh.

Archbishop Dow-
dall's character.

⁸⁶ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 255.

advancement from the king; and could never succeed in obtaining a provision from Pope Paul the Third, who had conferred the archbishoprick on Robert Waucop, by others called Venantius, a Scot, who assisted at the Council of Trent, from 1545 to 1547; and is transmitted by history with the glory or the shame, of having, about two years before, been the first to introduce the Jesuits into Ireland, with the favour and countenance of the Pope³⁷; and the observing reader, as is well remarked by Cox, in his history, written in 1689, "will easily perceive the dismal and horrible effects of that mission, which hath ever since embroiled Ireland, even to this day³⁸."

The conduct of Archbishop Dowdall, first in accepting the primacy from the king, notwithstanding his attachment to the papacy, and then in seeking a nomination from the Pope, notwithstanding his acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, leaves him with a character which it were difficult to vindicate from the charge of instability, if not of disregard and dereliction of principle, unless indeed in accordance with the rules of morals which his rival, the titular primate, had lately introduced into the kingdom, as means of undermining the simplicity and godly sincerity of the Gospel.

His unsteadiness
or want of prin-
ciple.

For the present, however, the new primate seems not to have had much opportunity of manifesting his Popish predilections by any act directly hostile and offensive to the advocates of the reformed religion; and the only measure attributed to him at this period is, that in a synod holden by him in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, June 20, 1545, it was appointed and ordained, "that the festival of St. Richard, archbishop of Armagh, should be cele-

Provincial synod,
June, 1545.

³⁷ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 93. COX'S *Hist.*, i. 272.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Canonization of
Richard Fitz-
ralph.

brated with nine lessons yearly, *in crastino Johannis et Pauli*³⁹, that is, the day following the 26th of June. The canonization of the celebrated primate, Richard Fitzralph, under the designation of "St. Richard of Armagh," seems to have been the act of Dowdall himself: for when, in consequence of the miracles attributed to Fitzralph after his death, Pope Boniface the Ninth had issued a commission to certain prelates for holding an inquiry concerning their truth, the whole matter was permitted to vanish away in silence under the commission⁴⁰.

Thus by recognising the saintship of his illustrious predecessor, and by appointing a rule for celebrating his festival, Archbishop Dowdall gave a convincing testimony of his own religious predilections; but he appears to have had no occasion for placing himself in an attitude of resistance to the Reformation, as no fresh efforts were made for its advancement in the Church of Ireland till after the year 1546, when the death of King Henry made way for that youth of blessed memory, his son and successor, King Edward the Sixth.

Commission for
the resignation
of St. Patrick's.

One of the last acts of King Henry the Eighth with respect to the Church of Ireland, was a commission for the resignation of the opulent cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, and the taking of the lands and possessions from the dean and chapter. The chapter at first refused, but soon after they yielded; and in January, 1547, the month in which the king died, the resignation was made by the dean, Edward Basnet, and the chapter. But these possessions, having been given to the Exchequer, were restored by Queen Mary to the Church, in 1554⁴¹.

Death of the
king, January,
28, 1547.

³⁹ *Reg. Dowdall*, p. 89.

⁴⁰ *WARE'S Bishops*, p. 83.

⁴¹ *WARE'S Annals*.

Before, however, we take a final leave of King Henry's reign, a compendious reference to some of its principal transactions, which have been already passing before us, may be useful as supplying us with a general view at this epoch of the Irish Church.

Recapitulation of chief transactions affecting the Church of Ireland in King Henry's reign.

The establishment of the king's supremacy upon the ruin of the Pope's was of infinite importance toward future religious improvement, inasmuch as it released the Church from the shackles which bound her, hand and foot, to the burden of the Romish corruptions, and must have precluded her from making any progress in the discovery and profession of the truth. Thus far benefit accrued from this most momentous action of King Henry's reign, though little perhaps with his good will, at least toward the close of it: for had he been desirous of effecting a reformation from Popish error, he never would have placed such a primate as he actually did at the head of the Irish Church.

The supremacy.

Nor was it at all a symptom of good will, that when he relieved the Church from the impediment of the monastick institutions, he forbore to provide thereby for the religious education of her people, as well as to bestow upon her any secular benefit, and left her incapacitated for necessary activity, and beset by difficulties, which were in a great degree created or augmented by the disappropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues for his own gratification and the enrichment of his favourites, and the consignment of them for ever to the hands of lay possessors. The appropriation to himself of the first-fruits and annual portions of the value of benefices was another injury which he inflicted on the Church.

Dissolution of monasteries.

Still a progressive improvement in spiritual relations was slowly, but perceptibly, making way.

Abolition of
idolatry.

In many places, especially in the metropolis of the kingdom, idolatry had been to a great extent abolished: and the symbols and objects of idolatry had been superseded in the churches by the foundation, the means, and the sanctions of a purified worship, which were expressed in the admission of an English translation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as proper embellishments of their walls, and as parts of the divine service celebrated within them.

Proper principle
of publick wor-
ship set forth.

The Form of Prayer, introduced by the archbishop into his diocese of Dublin, valuable in itself, was especially useful in setting forth and exemplifying the principle of Common Prayer, to be conducted in the language of the people, and liberated from anti-Scriptural innovations; although a further application of the principle was needed in adapting such a form to the circumstances of the Irish population, and in renouncing the superstitious rites of the mass, and the invocation of the Virgin Mary.

Preaching of the
Word of God.

I am not aware whether the English translation of the Bible had been hitherto introduced into Ireland: probably, indeed, it had not; though on that subject may arise a question, to which there will be occasion to advert in the succeeding reign. But it is plain that the preaching of the Word of God, as distinguished from Romish corruptions, especially with respect to the proper object of religious trust and worship, and to the merits of our blessed Redeemer as the only ground of Christian hope, had been practised with earnestness by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, and some other bishops and clergy, notwithstanding the obsti-

nacy and perverseness, or the infatuation and recklessness, of the majority: and that it had been preached not ineffectually appears, not only from the support given to the archbishop in Dublin, but from the numerous assemblies which attended his sermons at Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, and Clonmell.

Whether the two archbishops, of Cashel and Tuam, and the eight other southern bishops who attended at the last town, were themselves imprest with a conviction of the truth of the Archbishop of Dublin's preaching, as was the case with Tirrey, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and Nangle, bishop of Clonfert: whether, on their return to their respective dioceses, they took measures, and with what success, for spreading the truth among their clergy and their people: whether they distributed the copies of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English, which had been committed to them for that purpose: and whether by such means, and in pursuance of the statute for the establishment of parochial schools, under the superintendence and direction of the clergy, any religious instruction was conveyed to the spiritual edification of the rising generation: we have, I apprehend, little opportunity of information. Nor are we informed, what was the issue of Archbishop Browne's intention of preaching the Gospel in the remote parts of the kingdom; and of employing the aid of a suffragan, capable of addressing the people in Irish, where the English language was not understood. In his own immediate charge he was undoubtedly assiduous: and together with his, are transmitted with honourable distinction, as advocates and promoters of the Reformation, the names of two bishops of his pro-

Questions as to
its extent.

vince, Sanders of Leighlin, and Miagh of Kildare. In the province of Armagh, Staples, bishop of Meath, is the only known exception to the episcopal adherents to the Papacy, acting under the influence of the admonitions and example of the two successive primates, Cromer and Dowdall.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF	
KING EDWARD THE SIXTH	1547—1553.
GEORGE DOWDALL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,	
AND PRIMATE	1551.
GEORGE BROWNE, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,	
AND PRIMATE	1551—1553.

SECTION I.

Slow progress of Reformation in Ireland. Divided sentiments of the Clergy. Exercise of Ecclesiastical patronage. Order for introducing the English Liturgy. Viceroy convenes the Bishops and Clergy. Order resisted by Primate Dowdall: approved by Archbishop Browne: carried into effect in Dublin. Sir Anthony Saintleger recalled, and Sir James Crofts appointed Lord Deputy. Liturgy the first book printed in Dublin.

THE first years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth appear to have produced little effect in the religious improvement of the Church of Ireland. In fact we are at a loss for satisfactory documentary evidence on the subject, and must be content with what few particulars we can glean for our information. Thus in the Lortus MS., Marsh's Library, it is stated, that, "in the year 1549, the mass was put down, and divine service was performed in English." But more than this I do not find any account of such an alteration; and the occurrences, which will presently be noticed, appear hardly consistent with the statement.

Reformation not much advanced in the first years of King Edward.

Questionable statement concerning divine service.

No parliaments
at this time in
Ireland.

No parliament was called during this period; and no efforts are recorded to have been made, either by the English or the Irish government, notwithstanding the zeal and diligence with which the Reformation was promoted in England, and the effectual means employed there in its behalf. That England, the more powerful kingdom, and the seat of the imperial government, should take the lead in framing an ecclesiastical system, which should be the future rule of the two churches, was indeed natural and reasonable; and it was probably deemed the safest, the surest, and the wisest course, to make good the cause of the Reformation by the requisite provisions in that country, where it met with a ready compliance and support from the popular sentiment, before fresh experiments were tried in Ireland, where they were less likely to be acceptable either to the clergy or people.

Attachment of
the bishops and
clergy to Popery.

The majority, indeed, of the bishops, as well as of the inferior clergy, were decidedly attached to the Popish creed and practice, under the patronage of Primate Dowdall. To wean them from their prepossessions, and to use them as instruments for propagating the Reformed faith among their fellow-countrymen, would have been a most desirable consummation. But, much as it was to be desired, it was as little to be expected. For they were wrought on by a powerful influence, both at home and from abroad; and, although there may have been among them some men of learning and intellectual improvement, they may be thought to have been generally ignorant and illiterate; whilst of the fond superstition, to which some of them were devoted, a particular example¹ is related in a Bishop

¹ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 291.

of Derry, who died and was buried at the very period of which we are now speaking, in the habit of a Francisian friar, as a passport to heaven. Other examples of the same idle fancy are recorded of other bishops of the Irish Church, as occurring at no distant dates, by Sir James Ware; who, or rather his continuator Harris, remarks it to have been "according to the humour of those times, and to have been thought to be of much consequence²."

1550.

With respect to the less numerous class of prelates, who are known to have been favourable to the Reformation, from them exertions in its favour were to be expected, and may be presumed to have been made. But even as to the first and principal of these, the Archbishop of Dublin, although convincing evidence, in the course of the preceding reign, has been adduced, of his disposition to avail himself of every practicable opportunity for disseminating the truth of the Gospel, and for calling in other preachers to his aid, still his exertions must have been, for the most part, limited within his own sphere of ecclesiastical duty, his own diocese and province: whilst in the cases of the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and other suffragans, their sphere must have been still more reduced; so that, whatever may have been the effect of their efforts within their own respective charges, they can hardly have been capable of producing a general change in the religious sentiments of the kingdom, and great need existed for a supply of additional ministers anxious for the suppression of the Popish corruptions, and for the advancement of pure and undefiled religion.

Limited powers
of the Protestant
bishops.

In the meantime, however, the royal authority was directed to this end in the exercise of ecclesias-

Exercise of
ecclesiastical
patronage.

² See above, p. 97.

tical patronage; and the appointment to bishopricks, as they became vacant, gave proof of the actual superiority of the crown over the Papal pretensions, and was an earnest of more in future. Cox, indeed, has remarked, that "the Reformation made at this time small progress in Ireland, since the same year, 1550, produced bishops of each sort; for on the 10th of May, Arthur Macgenis was, by provision of the Pope, constituted Bishop of Dromore, and confirmed therein by the king; and Thomas Lancaster, a Protestant, was, on the 3rd day of September, made Bishop of Kildare³." But this appears to be incomplete as to the facts, and erroneous as to the inference.

Error of Cox
corrected.

For, in the first place, however Macgenis may have been constituted Bishop of Dromore, he was "confirmed by the king," as Ware adds, "upon taking the oath of allegiance⁴;" and it is to be moreover remarked, on the authority of the Rolls⁵, that "on the 10th of May, 1550, he had a pardon granted to him, under the great seal, for having received the Pope's bull, and for other misdemeanours;" whereas Lancaster was consecrated to the bishoprick of Kildare by the absolute commission of the king. Secondly, at or soon after the same time, six other appointments are on record, as having been made by the king, and carried by his authority into effect: whereas I find no other example of a bishop about this time being appointed by a Papal provision. This is a more complete statement of facts. And thus we may perceive a proof of the progress of the Reformation, so far as relates to the maintenance and extension of the king's

³ *History of Ireland*, i. 288.

⁴ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 264.

⁵ Rolls, 6 Edw. VI.

supremacy, and to the exercise of it on behalf of men favourable to the improvement of the Church; for in the appointments to which I have just alluded, of seven bishops to vacant sees, by King Edward the Sixth, in 1550 and the two following years, namely, to Kildare, Leighlin, Limerick, Waterford and Lismore, Elphin, and Ossory, as well as to the archbishoprick of Armagh, five at least of the number, for instance, the Bishops Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, Casey of Limerick, and Bale of Ossory, and finally Archbishop Goodacre, will hereafter fall under notice as friends and supporters of the Reformation.

Appointment of
Protestant
bishops.

In connexion, however, with these episcopal promotions, a case may be here mentioned, the explanation of which is not obvious. In March, 1551, the archbishoprick of Cashel was vacated by the death of Archbishop Butler, who had occupied the see twenty-three years. It was naturally to be expected that a successor would be at once appointed, as in other cases of vacancy; but, in fact, although King Edward survived till July, 1553, the place was not supplied till after his demise. Thus for an interval of more than two years, this archiepiscopal see continued without an occupant; and the Church and the kingdom lost that benefit in the cause of the Reformation, which might have ensued from the appointment of an advocate of that measure to one of the highest ecclesiastical dignities in Ireland. During the vacancy of the see, four of the prelates just mentioned, one of them a suffragan of Cashel, were appointed by the crown and consecrated. What was the cause of this omission? Could not there be found a person qualified and willing to undertake the charge?

Vacancy in the
archbishoprick
of Cashel not
supplied.

Our knowledge of the non-appointment is derived from Ware; but he neither attempts to account for it, nor indeed makes any comment on the fact. The choice of a fit person to fill the see of Armagh, which was vacant about the same time, was, as we shall hereafter see, a matter of great difficulty.

Order for introducing the English liturgy into Ireland. 1551.

But in noticing these episcopal appointments, we are partly anticipating occurrences, which followed the important measure that now demands our attention. By authority of the late king, the Holy Scriptures had been translated into English, and copies placed in all the parish churches of that kingdom, for the general instruction of the people by means of their vernacular language. And, immediately after the accession of King Edward the Sixth, a form of Common Prayer in the same language had been undertaken and composed; ratified by Parliament and convocation the 15th of January, 1549; and thereupon brought into use in all the parish churches. The latter of those improvements was now, after a delay of two years, not perhaps very easy to be accounted for, proposed to be made in Ireland; and on the 6th of February, 1551, an order was addressed to the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, for introducing the same liturgy into all the churches of Ireland⁶.

Question whether the English Bible was introduced by King Henry the Eighth into Ireland.

This order seems to say, that the translation of the Holy Scriptures had been introduced by King Henry's authority into Ireland at a former period: for it recounts the evils which his subjects had sustained "in both his realms of England and Ireland," under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome; and it specifies, as a remedy for these evils, the transla-

⁶ *Life of Archbishop Browne*, 13. Cox's *Hist.* i. 233.

tion of the Holy Scriptures, which the same king had "thought most fit and convenient to be placed in all parish churches within his dominions for his faithful subjects," in Ireland therefore, it is to be presumed, as well as in England. This presumption is further countenanced by the substance of the order: for whilst, on the one hand, it gives no directions concerning the procuring of copies of the Holy Scriptures, which, unless previously ordered, was to be expected on such an occasion; it does, on the other hand, direct the new Liturgy to be used in all the churches of Ireland; and as one of the provisions of the Liturgy is the reading of lessons from Holy Scripture, the direction seems to pre-suppose the existence of books whence to read them. It does not appear, however, from other documents, that any injunction or provision of this kind had been made in the former reign with respect to Ireland, nor any thing indeed beyond "the king's translation of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Articles of Faith, and Ten Commandments in English:" and such instructions concerning the Bible, as have fallen under my notice in this respect, speak of England only".

Another expression is remarkable in this order, namely, that the king had "caused the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church to be translated" into English: an expression which imports, not the construction of a new Liturgy, but the translation of an old one; and which was probably introduced for the purpose of refraining, as much as possible, from doing violence to the prejudices and feelings of those for whose use the Liturgy was intended. Certainly

Statement that
the English
Liturgy was a
translation.

⁷ Above, p. 151.

⁸ BURNET'S *Hist. Records*, vol. i. part ii. p. 377.

the assertion could not be in strictness made, that this Liturgy was a translation of "the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church" into the English language: for the Liturgy, as now put forth, had not existence in any other language; and though many of the prayers had previously existed, their retention much redounding to the credit of the Reformers in piety, sober-mindedness, and wisdom, yet in numerous instances they were purified and amended, they were accompanied with additional compositions, and wore a different form and structure as a whole. But advantage seems to have been taken of the identity, so far as it existed, in the hope of avoiding alarm or offence in the people of Ireland, and of conciliating their good will.

The order was as follows⁹:—

Copy of the order.

"Edward, by the grace of God, &c.

Recounts the vices occasioned by the jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome.

"Whereas our gracious father, King Henry the Eighth, of happy memory, taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonalty were in, how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both our realms of England and Ireland, grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands, also dispensing with the sins of our nations by their indulgences and pardons for gain, purposely to cherish all ill vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c.: He, our gracious father, King Henry, of happy memory, here-upon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses, as being but nurseries for vice and luxury, more than for sacred learning: therefore, that it might more plainly appear to the world, that those orders had kept the light of the Gospel from his people, he thought it most fit and convenient, for the preservation of their souls and bodies, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated

Consequent dissolution of monasteries,

And translation of the Scriptures.

⁹ Cox, i, 238.

printed, and placed in all parish-churches within his dominions, for his faithful subjects to increase their knowledge of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We therefore, for the general benefit of our well-beloved subjects' understandings, whenever assembled and met together in the said several parish churches, either to pray or hear prayers read, that they may the better join therein in unity, hearts and voice, have caused the Liturgy and Prayers of the church to be translated into our mother-tongue of this realm of England, according to the assembly of divines lately met within the same for that purpose. We therefore will and command, as also authorise you, Sir Anthony Saint Leger, Knight, our viceroy of that our kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, as others our secular parish priests within that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and obey this our royal will and pleasure accordingly.

Translation of
the Liturgy into
English.

"Given at our manor of Greenwich, the 6th of February, in the fifth year of our reign.

"E. R.

"To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Anthony Saint Leger, Knight, our chief governor of our kingdom of Ireland."

The first step taken by the viceroy on receiving this order, and before he proceeded to notify it by a general proclamation, was to call together an assembly of the archbishops and bishops, and of the clergy of Ireland, on the 1st of March, 1551: and to acquaint them with his majesty's order, as also with the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England who had acceded to the order. And he thereupon told them, that "it was his majesty's will and pleasure, consenting unto their serious considerations and opinions, then acted and agreed on in England, as to ecclesiastical matters, that the same be in Ireland so likewise celebrated and performed."

Assembly of the
clergy.

March 1, 1551.

Opposition of
Archbishop
Dowdall.

To this communication of the Lord Deputy an answer was returned by the primate, Archbishop Dowdall, who promptly availed himself of the opportunity, the first which seems to have occurred, in a general meeting of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom, since his elevation, for oppugning the royal authority, and testifying his zeal for the Pope, and discrediting the proposed improvement in religious worship. He accordingly expressed himself in strong terms opposed to the provision caused by the king to be made, and now set forth by his authority: he contended against the Liturgy, that it might not be read or sung in the church: and he accompanied his opposition with the contemptuous reflection, substituting the word "mass" for "service," "Then shall every illiterate fellow read mass."

The order supported by the
Lord Deputy.

The Primate's reflection was readily met by the Lord Deputy, who made a judicious and sufficient reply; briefly alleging where the charge of illiteracy properly rested, and propounding one incontrovertible argument in favour of a form of prayer in the vernacular tongue, as mutually intelligible both to the minister and to the people. "No," said he, "your grace is mistaken; for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the Liturgy in English, they and the priests will then understand what they pray for."

The Primate has
recourse to
menaces.

The primate seems to have felt the force of the appeal, for he did not attempt to refute it; but adopting a course which is no unusual substitute for argument with those who are sensible of the weakness of their cause, he had recourse to the language

of menace and intimidation, and bade the viceroy "beware of the clergy's curse." And indeed, in so doing, he was only following the instruction and example of his acknowledged lord and master, the Bishop of Rome, in his commission to his subjects in King Henry the Eighth's reign, and was adopting the usual practice of the papal authorities on similar occasions.

The cautionary charge, however, was lost on the viceroy. "I fear no strange curse," said he, "so long as I have the blessing of that Church which I believe to be the true one."

The Lord Deputy
slights the
menace.

"Can there be a truer Church," the archbishop thereupon demanded, "than the church of St. Peter, the mother Church of Rome?"

Altercation con-
cerning the
Church of Rome.

"I thought," returned the Lord Deputy, "we had all been of the Church of Christ: for he calls all true believers in him his Church, and himself the head thereof."

The archbishop again demanded, "And is not St. Peter's church the Church of Christ?"

To which the Lord Deputy calmly replied, "St. Peter was a member of Christ's Church; but the church was not St. Peter's; neither was St. Peter, but Christ, the head thereof."

Thus ceased this very remarkable altercation. For the primate, indignant, as it should seem, at the counteraction offered to his resistance of the proposed measure, and to his zeal for the papal church, and the pretended successor of St. Peter, thereupon rose up and left the assembly, accompanied by several, perhaps all, of the bishops within his jurisdiction who were present, except the Bishop of Meath, who continued behind, together with the other clergy who remained.

The Primate and
his party leave
the assembly.

Order received
by Archbishop
Browne.

The viceroy then took the order, and held it forth to the Archbishop of Dublin, who stood up, and received it with these words: "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren, the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no question why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful king¹⁰."

Concurrence of
other bishops.

Several of the more moderate bishops and clergy adhered to Archbishop Browne; among whom were Staples, bishop of Meath; Lancaster, bishop of Kildare; Travers, bishop of Leighlin; and Coyn, bishop of Limerick. If there were any other bishops, their names have not been recorded.

Bishop Staples.

Of these, Staples, who was an Englishman, and had been educated at Cambridge, and had afterwards become one of the canons of Cardinal Wolsey's new foundation in Oxford, was promoted to his bishoprick twenty years before, during the Pope's usurpation. But he appears to have been early instrumental and active in promoting the changes in religion; and had been placed in several offices of trust by King Henry, and latterly been called to the Privy Council, and made Judge of the Faculties, by the reigning sovereign¹¹. The Bishops Lancaster and Travers had been recently promoted to their sees, namely, in 1550, both being married men¹²; and were probably selected for their respective stations from regard to their approval of the Reformation. Bishop Coyn had occupied his see near thirty years, having been promoted in 1522 by the Pope, in opposition to the

Bishops Lan-
caster and
Travers.

Bishop Coyn.

¹⁰ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 350.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 152.

¹² *Ib.*, p. 390, 461.

king, who was earnest in his endeavour to place Walter Wellesley, a favourite of his own, in the vacant bishoprick¹³, as before related. What may have been his opinion on the changes now in agitation does not appear; nor what other prelates took part with those who joined the Archbishop of Dublin in acceding to the king's order. Soon afterwards age and infirmity caused Bishop Cohn to resign his see, in which he was succeeded by William Casey, an advocate of the Reformation.

The result of this assembly was a proclamation issued by the Lord Deputy for carrying the order into effect, and the consequent celebration of divine worship according to the English Liturgy on Easter Day, in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in the presence of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the mayor and bailiffs of the city, when the archbishop preached a sermon on the eighteenth verse of the 119th Psalm, "Open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy law."

Order carried
into effect.
Easter day, 1551.

In this sermon, which has been transmitted to us, with commendation not unmerited¹⁴, he set forth the injuriousness of the Church of Rome in not permitting the use of the Holy Scriptures in any other tongue but the Latin; and the blindness, the folly, and the artifices of her image-worship. But the most memorable feature of it is that sort of prophetick spirit with which he describes the future emissaries of Rome, "false prophets, that shall deceive you with false doctrines, whom you shall take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest enemies; speaking against the tenets of Rome, and yet be set on by Rome; these shall be a rigid people, full of fury and envy." The conduct of those fana-

Archbishop of
Dublin's sermon.

His anticipation
of Romish
emissaries in
disguise;

¹³ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 510.

¹⁴ COX, i. 290.

ticks and hypocrites, who soon after attempted to subvert the Anglican church, will probably be here present to the reader's mind.

His description
of the Jesuits;

And again: "But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many; who are much after the scribes and pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathen, an heathenist; with atheists, an atheist; with the Jews, a Jew; and with the reformers, a reformed; purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart, *there was no God*. These shall spread over the whole world; shall be admitted into the council of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein; unto them, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling of the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God to justify his law shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them, so that at the end they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon the earth; and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit¹⁵."

of their influ-
ence,

and their fall.

Recall of Sir
Anthony St.
Leger.

In the whole of the foregoing transactions, the conduct of the Lord Deputy appears unexceptionable. Shortly afterwards, however, he was recalled: and his removal has been attributed to some repre-

¹⁵ WARE'S *Life of Archbishop Browne*.

sentations made in his disfavour by the archbishop, though the precise cause or nature of the want of harmony between them has not been satisfactorily specified. Ware, in his *Annals*¹⁶, says, "The archbishop accused him of treason; what the article alleged against him was, I cannot tell; but he was recalled, and, in all probability cleared himself; for in the reign of Queen Mary, he was again preferred to this government." It is the more recent statement of Cox, "Whether the Lord Deputy were not zealous in propagating the Reformation, or what other differences there were between him and the archbishop, I cannot find; but it is certain, the archbishop sent complaints against him into England, and thereupon he was recalled"¹⁷.

Alleged difference between him and the archbishop.

Admitting the fact to have been as here stated, the solution may possibly be found in the earnestness with which the archbishop was desirous of carrying on the work of the Reformation, in accordance with the views now prevailing in England, with the king and his advisers; and a want of corresponding energy on the part of Sir Anthony St. Leger, in forwarding the same views; for, although he put in action the king's order, as we have seen, he may have been reluctant to proceed forward in urging it on the observance of those who were unwilling to obey it, such as the primate and the popish party. The fact of his being reinstated in his situation of viceroy by Queen Mary in the succeeding reign, when the archbishop was deprived of his see for his attachment to the Reformation, may give countenance to the surmise that Sir Anthony St. Leger was not altogether decided in his religious principles, or at least was not resolute in exercising his authority for the execution

Various accounts of the cause of his recall.

¹⁶ P. 123.

¹⁷ Cox, i. 291.

of the king's order. It is remarkable, however, that soon after his re-appointment by Queen Mary, he was again displaced, in consequence, as was supposed, of a charge against him, that he had ridiculed the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation.

Probably not
caused by any
dissatisfaction.

But the cause of his being recalled at this time by King Edward may have been altogether misapprehended. For, without intimating any dissatisfaction as the cause of it, Strype simply says, "It was thought fit to send for home Sir Anthony St. Leger, the king's chief officer in Ireland; the king declaring by letters, that he intended to make use of him, and to employ him nearer home." And a little below he adds an extract from the king's Warrant Book, "A letter to Sir Anthony St. Leger, to repair home to the king's presence; and that before his departure, he see Sir James Crofts placed there. . . . Four-and-twenty letters were also sent, all of one effect, declaring that, for divers considerations, the king minded to occupy Sir Anthony St. Leger about certain his necessary businesses here at home. Therefore presently sendeth, to supply the office of deputy there, Sir James Crofts, as by his letters patent to them shall more plainly appear¹⁰."

Appointment of
Sir James Crofts.
April, 1551.

However this may have been, Sir James Crofts, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, was appointed to the government of Ireland by letters patent, the 29th of April, 1551; and soon afterwards arrived, bringing with him instructions for himself and the council, amongst which those that relate to ecclesiastical affairs are the following: "1. To propagate the worship of God in the English tongue; and the service to be translated into Irish in those places which need it. 2. To prevent the sale of

¹⁰ *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, vol. ii., b. ii., c. 3, p. 264.

bells, church goods, chantry lands, &c., and to inventory them¹⁹.”

The latter of these instructions was intended to check official or private peculation, which, under the semblance of promoting the Reformation, or under shelter of the confusion that attended it, had been directed against objects of superstition, and withal against other things, perfectly inoffensive and unobjectionable; and that in the way of plunder, and for the personal emolument of the perpetrators. An example of the sort of enormity here intended, is supposed to have occurred about this time, when the English garrison of Athlone, or more probably some lawless spoilers from a distance, pillaged the celebrated abbey and church of Clonmacnoise, to a most scandalous extent; so that, “as the *Annals of Dunnagall*,” quoted by Ware, relate, “they took away the bells, destroyed the images and altars, not sparing the church books nor the window-glass.” This outrage, however, did not take place until the following year; and it was, in all probability, less against such acts of lawless and barbarous violence, than against the abuse or pretence of official authority that this instruction was directed.

Instruction concerning the sale of Church property.

The former of the two instructions was in furtherance of the king's order promulgated by Sir Anthony St. Leger; charging the new vice-regal government with the duty of carrying into effect that order for the introduction of the English liturgy into the churches of Ireland; but at the same time applying the principle of the order, in a modified form, to cases in which it could not be strictly employed as originally propounded. For the principle that both the minister and the people should

Instruction concerning the worship of God in English.

¹⁹ Cox, i, 290.

Direction for an
Irish translation
of the liturgy.

understand the prayers in which they mutually joined, required no less that the liturgy should be used in the Irish language, in parish churches where the Irish only was understood, than it did that in parish churches, where the English was the vernacular language, it should be used in English. And, however the time may have been hoped to arrive, when the English tongue should have become the common language of the people of both realms, it was for the present a wise ordinance, that divine service, according to the authorized form of prayer, should be provided for in the native Irish tongue in places where the circumstances of the case made it needful. Such an ordinance was, indeed, necessary for the advancement of the Reformation, and the spiritual improvement of the people, in those parts of the kingdom where the English language was not known; nor could those parts have profited by the recent introduction and increased propagation of the liturgy, if the celebration of it had been restricted to that language. It would have been well, had this purpose been as promptly and vigorously executed as it was happily and prudently projected. The short duration of the reign of King Edward probably prevented its execution. Meanwhile this instruction may serve, in some degree, as an answer to the remark of Bishop Burnet; who having stated, under this date, that "the Reformation made but a small progress in that kingdom," adds, "it was received among the English, but I do not find any endeavours were used to bring it in among the Irish²⁰."

Book of Common
Prayer, first
book printed in
Dublin.
1551.

The arrival of the new viceroy in Dublin coincided with an occurrence of great interest to the man of letters and the typographer, as well as to the

²⁰ *Hist. of the Reformation*, part II. b. i. p. 379.

churchman: namely, the appearance of the first book printed in Dublin, being an edition of the recently established liturgy. The title-page of the volume describes it as *The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England. Dublinæ, in officina Humfredi Powelli. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno Domini, M.D.LI.* It professes to be "printed at the commandment of the Right Worshipful Sir Anthony Sentleger, Knight of the Order, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Council of the same." At the end of the volume is a prayer for the Lord Deputy, mentioning by name "Sir James Croft, now governour over this realm, under our most dread and sovereign Lord, Edward the Sixth." A handsome copy of this book is preserved in its fittest repository, the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and it is doubted by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, the learned under-librarian, and one of the junior fellows of the college, whether there be another in existence.

SECTION II.

Correspondence between the Lord Deputy and the Primate. Conference between them. Primacy taken from Archbishop Dowdall, and conferred on Archbishop Browne. Withdrawal of Archbishop Dowdall from the kingdom. Appointment of Goodacre to the Archbishoprick of Armagh, and of Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossory. Circumstances of their consecration. State of religious instruction. Activity of Bishop Bale. Death of Archbishop Goodacre. Death of King Edward VI. State of the Church.

THE new viceroy, Sir James Crofts, has the character of having been "a zealous Protestant;" and agree-

The Lord Deputy seeks a conference with Archbishop Dowdall.

¹ Cox, i, 291.

1551.

ably to that character, as well as in dutiful discharge of the trust reposed in him by his sovereign, he lost no time on his arrival in endeavouring to persuade the primate into submission to the king's order concerning the liturgy. Having, therefore, been sworn into office on the 23rd of May, he wrote an earnest letter to Archbishop Dowdall, on the 16th of June, inviting him to a conference with the other prelates; and sending his letter, in testimony of respect, by the principal of the primate's suffragans, Staples, bishop of Meath. This letter, and the primate's answer follow, copies of them being preserved among the HARRIS MSS., in the Royal Dublin Society's Library, vol. iv. p. 472.

Letter from Lord
Deputy to the
Primate.

Sir James Crofts, lord deputy, to George Dowdall, bishop of Armagh:—

“ Reverend Sir,

“ We understand you are a reverend father of the Church, and do know full well that you are not ignorant of the obedience due unto kings and princes; for the chief of bishops, namely, Christ, the bishop of our souls, showed you the way by his tribute given unto Cæsar, the same being formerly confessed and acknowledged to be so due by the bishops of Rome themselves; therefore if your Lordship will appoint a place where I may conveniently have the happiness of appeasing wrath between the fathers of the Church and your grace, I shall think my labour well spent to make a brotherly love therein, as I profess myself to be a Christian. Yet as I am employed under my most gracious sovereign lord, within this his majesty's realm, I needed not have sought this request; but fearing we shall have an order ere long to alter church matters, as well in offices as in ceremonies, which I would prevent if possible, therefore out of my hearty affections unto your paternal gravity and dignity, I have written by the chief of the bishops under your jurisdiction, (viz.) the Bishop of Meath, by whom we entreat your grace's answer. From his

majesty's castle of Dublin, June 6th, 1552." (Apparently a mistake in the MS. for June 16th, 1551.)

(Signed.) "JAMES CROFTS."

(Superscribed).

"To the Reverend Father in God, George, archbishop of Armagh, at St. Mary's Abbey, by Dublin."

The Archbishop of Armagh's answer to the Lord Deputy.

"Right Honourable,

"Your kind and hearty overtures came unto me unexpected. I fear it is in vain for me to converse with an obstinate number of churchmen, and in vain for your lordship to suppose the difference between us can be so soon appeased, as our judgments, opinions, and consciences are different; yet do accept of your honour's friendly proffers. I shall rejoice to see your lordship, and would have waited on you in person: but having withdrawn myself for a long space during your predecessor's government, and for a while since, it is not so meet for me to appear at your lordship's palace. This, I hope, is a sufficient reason from

Primate's answer
to the Lord
Deputy.

"Your lordship's humble servant,

"GEORGE ARMACHANUS."

"To the Right Honourable Sir James Crofts, Knight,
his Majesty's Viceroy of Ireland²."

In pursuance of this negotiation, the proposed conference took place the following day, in the great hall of St. Mary's Abbey, where the primate had for some time resided in a state of dignified or sullen seclusion, and where the Lord Deputy condescended to his humour, and attended him, accompanied by the Bishop of Meath, and Lancaster, bishop of Kildare. In the debate which ensued, the particulars of which are extant in a manuscript of the British Museum³, the principal interlocutors were the Pri-

Conference of
the Lord Deputy
and Bishop of
Meath, with the
primate.

² HARRIS'S MSS., Royal Dublin Society, vol. iv. p. 472.

³ *Tract. Variantes Hibernicas Spectantes.* Cod. Clarendon. xx.

Their respectful
demeanour to-
wards him.

mate and the Bishop of Meath, and occasionally the Lord Deputy. And although neither party gave way to the sentiments of his opponent, and no profitable result accrued from the discussion, it is gratifying to notice the viceroy's demeanour of respectful courteousness towards the dignified ecclesiastick, whose opinions he disapproved; and how the suffragan bishop, whilst he frankly controverted and effectually repelled the positions of his metropolitan, accosted him with the most becoming inoffensiveness, temperance, and reverence of language and of manner.

The conference was opened by this question from the archbishop :

“ My lord, why is your honour so for my compliance with these clergymen, who are fallen from the mother Church ?”

Lord Deputy. “ Because, reverend father, I would fain unite you and them, if possible.”

Objection to the
substitution of
the liturgy for
the mass.

Archbishop. “ How can that be expected, when you have demolished the mass, to bring in another service of England's making ?”

Lord Deputy. “ Most reverend father, I make no doubt but here be those, who will answer your grace, which behoofs them best to answer in this case, as it belongs to their function.”

Bishop of Meath. “ My lord says well, as your grace was talking of the mass, and of the antiquities of it.”

Archbishop. “ Is it not ancienter than the liturgy, now established without the consent of the mother Church ?”

Vindication of
the liturgy.

Bishop of Meath. “ No, may it please your grace: for the liturgy, established by our gracious King Edward and his English clergy, is but the mass reformed and cleansed from idolatry.”

Archbishop. “ We shall fly too high, we suppose, if we continue in this strain. I could wish you would hearken unto reason, and so be united.”

Bishop of Meath. "That is my prayer, reverend sir, if you will come to it."

Archbishop. "The way then to be in unity is not to alter the mass."

The mass unaltered the only way to unity.

Bishop of Meath. "There is no Church, upon the face of the whole earth, hath altered the mass more oftener than the Church of Rome: which hath been the reason, that causeth the rationaller sort of men to desire the liturgy to be established in a known tongue, that they may know what additions have been added, and what they pray for."

Archbishop. "Was not the mass from the Apostles' days? how can it be proved, that the Church of Rome hath altered it?"

Bishop of Meath. "It is easily proved by our records of England. For Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, in the fourth century after Christ, gave the first introit of the mass, which the clergy was to use for preparation; even the psalm, '*Judica me Deus, &c.*;' Rome not owning the word mass till then."

Frequent alterations in the mass.

Archbishop. "Yes, long before that time: for there was a mass called St. Ambrose's mass."

Bishop of Meath. "St. Ambrose was before Cœlestinus: but the two prayers, which the Church of Rome had foisted and added unto St. Ambrose's works, are not in his general works: which hath caused a wise and a learned man lately to write, that those two prayers were forged, and not to be really St. Ambrose's."

A forgery added to St. Ambrose's works.

Archbishop. "What writer dares write, or doth say so?"

Bishop of Meath. "Erasmus, a man who may well be compared to either of us, or the standers by. Nay, my lord, no disparagement if I say so to yourself: for he was a wise and a judicious man, otherwise I would not have been so bold, as to parallel your lordship with him."

Authority of Erasmus;

Lord Deputy. "As for Erasmus's parts, would I were such another: for his parts may parallel him a companion for a prince."

Archbishop. "Pray, my lord, do not hinder our discourse; for I have a question or two to ask Mr. Staples."

Lord Deputy. "By all means, reverend father, proceed."

Archbishop. "Is Erasmus's writings more powerful than the precepts of the mother Church?"

Compared with
that of the
Church of Rome.

Bishop of Meath. "Not more than the holy Catholick one, yet more than the Church of Rome, as that Church hath run into several errors since St. Ambrose's days."

Archbishop. "How hath the Church erred since St. Ambrose's days? Take heed lest you be not excommunicated."

Church of Rome
errs in praying
to the Blessed
Virgin as to a
goddess;

Bishop of Meath. "I have excommunicated myself already from thence. Therefore with Erasmus I shall aver, that the prayers in St. Ambrose's mass, especially that to the Blessed Virgin Mary, appears not to be in his ancient works: for he had more of the truth and of God's Spirit in him, than our latter bishops of Rome ever had, as to pray to the Blessed Virgin, as if she had been a goddess."

Archbishop. "Was she not called 'blessed;' and did she not prophesy of herself, when she was to bear our Saviour Jesus Christ, that she would be called by all men 'blessed?'"

Not exclusively
called "Blessed."

Bishop of Meath. "Yes, she did so. But others be called 'blessed,' even by Christ himself. In his first sermon, made by him in the mount, 'blessed,' saith he, 'be the meek, be the merciful, be the pure of heart: blessed be those persecuted for righteousness' sake, and those that hunger and thirst after the same:' and he blessed the low-minded sort, of which few or none of the Bishops of Rome can be said to be called since Constantine's reign. Christ also to all those, who shall partake of his heavenly kingdom, will likewise say unto them, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, &c.'"

Archbishop. "Why, pray, is it not probable, that St. Ambrose desired the Blessed Virgin's mediation for him, as she is the mother of Christ? Are not children commanded by God's commandments to reverence and obey their parents? therefore, as he is a man, why may he not be subject?"

Christ the only
mediator.

Bishop of Meath. "St. Ambrose knew better, that he ought to apply to Jesus, the sole and only mediator between him and God; and that, as Christ is man, he is the mediator. If the Blessed Virgin, therefore, can command her

son in heaven to mediate, then St. Ambrose would have made her a goddess, or a coadjutor with God, who is himself omnipotent. And lastly, if we make her a mediator as well as Christ, we do not only suspect Christ's insufficiency, but mistrust God's ordinances, thinking ourselves not sure by his promises to us and our forefathers, that Christ should be our mediator."

Archbishop to the Lord Deputy. "My lord, I signified to your honour, that all was in vain, when two parties should meet of a contrary opinion; and that your lordship's pains therein would be lost, for which I am heartily sorry."

Lord Deputy. "The sorrow is mine, that your grace cannot be convinced."

Archbishop. "Did your lordship but know the oaths we bishops do take at our consecrations, signed under our hands, you would not blame my steadfastness. This oath, Mr. Staples, you took with others, before you were permitted to be consecrated. Consider hereon yourself, and blame not me for persisting as I do."

Oath of Popish
bishops at conse-
cration

Bishop of Meath. "My Lord Deputy, I am not ashamed to declare the oath, and to confess my error in so swearing thereunto. Yet I hold it safer for my conscience to break the same, than to observe the same. For when your lordship sees the copy thereof, and seriously considers, you will say it is hard for that clergyman, so swearing, to be a true subject to his king if he observe the same: for that was the oath, which our gracious king's royal father caused to be demolished, for to set up another, now called the oath of supremacy, to make the clergy the surer to his royal person, his heirs, and successors."

Abolished by
oath of suprema-
cy.

"Then," as the manuscript narrative concludes the account, "the Lord Deputy rose and took leave: so likewise did the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, who waited on his lordship."

A contest for precedence had for some centuries been agitated between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, each claiming it in right of his see: but latterly it had been enjoyed with little or no opposi-

Archbishop
Dowdall deprived
of the primacy;

tion by the Archbishop of Armagh, who was distinguished by the title of Primate of all Ireland, from the Archbishop of Dublin, who styled himself only Primate of Ireland, after the manner used for distinguishing in the like respect the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in England. But in consequence of the parts respectively taken by the two archbishops on the recent occasion; in testimony of disapprobation of the obstinate opposition made by Archbishop Dowdall to the Reformation, and specially to the introduction of the liturgy; and in acknowledgment of the zeal, resolution, and extraordinary services of Archbishop Browne; by an act of the 20th of October, 1551, the king and council of England deprived the former of the primacy of all Ireland, and by letters patent conferred the title on the latter and his successors, and annexed it to the see of Dublin for ever: a transfer of dignity, which seems to explain an ambiguous expression in the Lord Deputy's letter, where he represents himself as "fearing they should have an order ere long to alter Church matters, as well in offices as in ceremonies, which," he adds, "I would prevent if possible." What occurred further on this question in the succeeding reigns, until it was finally settled by decree of King Charles the First, may be noticed on the fitting occasions.

Which was conferred on Archbishop Browne. Oct. 1551.

Withdrawal of Archbishop Dowdall from the kingdom;

At present it remains to be related, that Archbishop Dowdall, being deprived of the primacy, withdrew beyond the seas: or, as stated by the LOFTUS MS. *Collection of Annals relating to Ireland*, in Marsh's Library, Dublin, that he "fled the realm⁴." "I do not find," says Harris⁵, "that he was stripped of his

⁴ 3. 2. 7. Year 1553. WARE's *Bishops*, p. 317.

⁵ P. 157.

bishoprick: but his high stomach could not digest this affront. He went into voluntary banishment, and lived an exile for a time in foreign parts, during the remainder of the reign of King Edward the Sixth." This banishment of his is alluded to by him in his epitaph, where he attributes it to the banishment of the holy faith:

Exul sacra fides patriæ me finibus egit.

The sacred faith exiled me from my country drove.

The self-imposed banishment of the archbishop, being a withdrawal of himself from his official station, and a dereliction of his official duties, seems to have been regarded by the government as a virtual resignation of his office. Or, on the hypothesis, noticed by Sir James Ware's son, in his *Life of Archbishop Browne*, that Dowdall was really banished, a removal from his station by the king may have formed part of his punishment, according to what, in the opinion of the last cited writer, "was then held lawful;" and according to the power, which the late King Henry the Eighth professed to belong to him, and threatened to exercise against the then Archbishop of Dublin, who had incurred his displeasure. In either case the archbishoprick of Armagh was considered vacant; and measures were accordingly taken for providing a successor.

Differently represented, as a punishment.

It was thought convenient that this place, as well as the vacant bishoprick of Ossory, recently made so by the death of its former occupant, should be filled by divines from England, for the purpose, no doubt, of supplying them with known advocates of the Reformation. And with this view, Archbishop Cranmer was consulted, that so, "by the influence of very wise and learned men, and good

Care taken in the appointment of a successor to the archbishoprick.

preachers, the Gospel might be the better propagated in that dark region. But because," says Strype, "it was foreseen to be difficult to procure any Englishmen, so endowed, to go over thither, therefore Secretary Cecil, being then with the king in his progress, sent a letter to the archbishop, to nominate some worthy persons for those preferments, and whom he thought would be willing to undertake them. He returned him the names of four, and said, 'he knew many others in England, that would be meet persons for those places, but very few that would be gladly persuaded to go thither:' for it seems the English were never very fond of living in Ireland. But he added, concerning those four which he had named, 'that he thought they, being ordinarily called, for conscience sake would not refuse to bestow the talent committed unto them, wheresoever it should please the king's majesty to bestow them.' He recommended, likewise, a fifth person for this promotion, a wise and well-learned man; but he doubted whether he would be persuaded to take it upon him."

Four persons
named by Arch-
bishop Cranmer.

His preference
of Whitehead.

Of these four, the archbishop judged Whitehead the fittest for the archbishoprick of Armagh, giving him this character, "that he was endued with good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and politick wisdom." And of his fitness and high character, as well as of Cranmer's anxiety to supply the Irish archbishoprick with a worthy occupant, a proof is added by the fact, which is stated by Dr. Wordsworth to have been related afterwards: namely, that, "on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Whitehead was solicited to accept the see of Canterbury, but refused." Next to Whitehead in fitness,

¹ *Ecclesiastical Biography*, i. 112, note.

Cranmer judged Turner: of whom he gives this relation, "That he was merry and witty withal, Nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum: and in the lively preaching of him and his word, declared such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much commendation."

The king concluded upon Turner. But he, on the preferment being proposed to him, and pressed upon him, by the archbishop, showed the utmost repugnance to accept it. And the objections which he made, and the arguments with which they were met, as related by the above-named ecclesiastical historian, are worthy of being here reported, as showing the impressions at that time made on English minds by the supposed condition of Ireland. "He urged to the archbishop, that, if he went thither, he should have no auditors, but must preach to the walls and stalls: for the people understood no English." The archbishop, on the other hand, endeavoured to answer all his objections, though evidently himself very imperfectly informed on the subject. He told him, "They did understand English in Ireland; though, whether they did in the diocese of Armagh, he did indeed doubt. But, to remedy that, he advised him to learn the Irish tongue: which with diligence, he told him, he might do in a year or two; and that there would this advantage arise thereby, that both his person and doctrine would be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland."

Turner, selected
by the king,
refusal.

Sentiments of
the English con-
cerning Ireland.

Turner, however, was resolute in his refusal. And in the end the charge fell upon Hugh Goodacre, the fifth person named by the archbishop, and represented as "a wise and well-learned man," but

Appointment of
Goodacre.

of whom Cranmer doubted "whether he would be persuaded to undertake the charge." He had been vicar of Shadfleet in the Isle of Wight, and chaplain to Bishop Poynt, of Winchester. Strype supposes him to have been at first chaplain to the Lady Elizabeth: at least he had been long known to her. And about the year 1548, or 1549, she had procured for him a licence to preach from the Protector, to whom she bore this testimony in his favour: "That he had been long time known unto her, to be as well of honest conversation and sober living, as of sufficient learning and judgment in the Scriptures, to preach the Word of God. The advancement whereof she so desired, that she wished there were many such to set forth God's glory. She therefore desired Cecil, who was in attendance upon the Protector, and to whom she wrote, that as heretofore at her request he had obtained licence to preach for divers other honest men, so he would recommend this man's case unto my lord, and therewith procure for him the like licence, as to the other had been granted."

Character of him
by the Lady
Elizabeth.

Whilst Goodacre was thus appointed to the archbishoprick of Armagh, Bale was fixed on for the bishoprick of Ossory, by the special selection and designation of the king himself. And that they might find the better countenance and authority in the exercise of their functions, the privy council wrote two letters to the Lord Deputy and council of Ireland: the one dated October 27, in commendation of the bishop elect of Ossory; and the other dated November 4, in commendation of the bishop elect of Armachan^a,

Appointment of
Bale to Ossory.

Letters commen-
datory from the
council of Eng-
land.

^a STRYPE's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 392—401. Oxford, 1812.

Soon after his arrival in Ireland, the archbishop elect was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, on the 2nd of February, 1553, by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Kildare, and of Down and Connor. And together with him was consecrated his friend and brother chaplain, the celebrated John Bale.

Consecration of
Archbishop
Goodacre,
Feb. 2, 1553;

Bale, a native of Suffolk, had been educated, first in the Carmelites' convent at Norwich, and afterwards at Jesus' College, Cambridge; at which time, according to his own confession, "ignorance and blindness had wholly possessed him;" till by the instrumentality, not of a monk or a priest, but of a temporal lord, the Lord Wentworth, he betook himself to the source of all true knowledge, the written word of God; and thus was converted from the error of his ways, and shook off the yoke of his former superstitious profession, and, as he expresses it, "to throw off all marks of the beast, and according to the divine precept," (1 Cor. vii. 9,) he married a faithful wife, who proved his inseparable companion and co-partner in all his following troubles and exilements.

And Bishop
Bale.

His account of
his former life.

He had been thrown into prison, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, first by Lee, archbishop of York, and afterwards by Stokesly, bishop of London, for preaching against the Romish religion: especially the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of images. In one of his books, speaking concerning the practisers of these Popish superstitions, he added, "Yea, I ask God mercy a thousand times, I have been one of them myself." Thus his own experience qualified him to bear testimony to the true character of these enormities: nor less to the unchaste, licentious, and shameful practices, used

Incidents of his
early life.

too commonly in the monastick life, into one order of which he had been initiated. When imprisoned for this testimony, he escaped from his persecutors, by supplicating the protection of the Lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general. But, on Cromwell's death, he had thought it not safe for him to abide longer in the country, and had withdrawn himself into Lower Germany, where he lived eight years, avoiding the persecution which arose in the latter part of King Henry's reign on account of the Six Articles. Thence, on the succession of King Edward, he returned to England: and having resided for some time in the family of Poynt, bishop of Winchester, whose chaplain he was, and then at his parsonage of Bishop's Stoke, near Southampton, he was shortly after promoted, on the king's own motion, and without the solicitation of any other person, to the bishoprick of Ossory, whither he proceeded immediately, freely at the king's own charge, and now received consecration.

Circumstances
of his consecra-
tion.

His consecration was not effected without opposition from the popishly-inclined clergy^o: and it was attended by some circumstances, which whilst they exemplify the determined character of Bale, give some information as to certain practices then existing in the Church of Ireland. It should seem that the consecration of the Irish bishops had hitherto been solemnised according to the Pontifical and unreformed rites, for the First Book of Common Prayer, there used by the king's order, contained no form of ordination or consecration. But in England, in the year 1552, a new form of ordination had been introduced, constructed on the principles of Scripture and primitive antiquity, and stripped of all

Use of the Eng-
lish form.

^o WARE's *Bishops*, p. 415.

those superadded ceremonies, which in later times had been introduced with a view of giving more pomp to the celebration. This form, which was the only one now used in England, had been annexed to the Act of Parliament, which authorized the Second Book of Common Prayer of King Edward the Sixth¹⁰: it had not, however, been brought into action in Ireland by the laws of the kingdom, nor was it authorised there by Act of Parliament until the second year of Queen Elizabeth: nor does it appear that any order from the king had been sent to Ireland for the use of his Second Book, to which this ordinal was annexed. It is said that, at the instance of Lockwood, dean of Christ's Church, the Archbishop of Dublin intended to use the old Pontifical on this occasion; that the Lord Chancellor, a Protestant, concurred; and that Goodacre was easily persuaded to it: Bishop Burnet adds, "the two others, Irishmen, who were now to be consecrated;" but this is a mistake, for there were no others besides Goodacre and Bale: possibly he means the two assistant bishops: and on the proposal being made to use the English form, the dean very earnestly protested against its use, alleging, "that it would be an occasion of tumult, as well as that it wanted authority by the Irish laws." But a contrary sentiment was maintained by others, especially by the Bishop-elect of Ossory, who contended, that "if England and Ireland be under one king, they are both bound to the obedience of one law under him," and who absolutely refused to be consecrated by the old Pontifical. In the end he was supported by the Lord Chancellor, who was also one of the Lords Justices, and the archbishop consented to

Different opinions about it.

¹⁰ COLLIER'S *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 321.

solemnize the consecration by the English form, which he had at first declined, apparently because it did not stand upon the same footing of the king's order as the Liturgy which he had received: and so the consecration was celebrated, "there being no tumult among the people, and every man, saving the priests, being well contented"¹¹."

Question concerning the ministration of the Holy Communion.

Another alteration was made on the same occasion in one of the rites of the church, in consequence of the resistance of the new bishop, who refuted all opposition, by declaring that they might "set their hearts at rest, for he came to the church of Ossory to execute nothing, but according to the rules of the Book of Common Prayer." The holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper being about to be administered, "he refused to communicate in the wafer or printed bread, but caused a white manchet to be set on the altar"¹²." In explanation of this statement, it will be convenient for the reader to be apprised of an article of the Rubrick, appended to "the ministration of the Holy Communion," in the Liturgy, which, as we have seen, the king had ordered to be observed in all the churches of Ireland. "For avoiding of all matters and occasions of dissension, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion: that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was before, but without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces; and every one shall be divided into two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed."

¹¹ *Focaryon of John Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossory*, in *Harleian Misc.* vol. vi. BURNET'S *Hist. of Reform.*, part. ii. b. i. 379.

¹² WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 417.

The distinction here mentioned is precisely that which Bale intended, between "the wafer or printed bread," and "the white manchet," or small loaf, "bread without all manner of print," which another Rubrick of the same liturgy also directed to be "set forth upon the altar." King Edward's second book is less particular; but says, "it shall suffice that the bread is such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat-bread that conveniently may be gotten." Both directions, however, were introduced for the purpose of laying down a rule, which should distinguish the reformed from the Popish mode of ministering the Holy Communion. And it is difficult to understand, how the consecrating Archbishop of Dublin, any more than the Bishop-elect of Ossory, can have been consenting to the use of the Popish mode.

Bale's conduct agreeable to the Rubrick in the Liturgy.

I am not aware that we possess means of much information as to the manner in which individual bishops and other clergymen exerted themselves in promoting the truths of the Reformation, or in which their exertions were received and turned to account by those for whose instruction they were made. If zeal and diligence existed in the instructors, their language for the most part did not qualify them for conveying instruction to the popular mind. And indeed it is to be feared, that there was a very meagre supply of such instruction as the circumstances of the country made peculiarly requisite.

Defects in giving popular instruction in religion.

This is stated in a letter of the 8th of May, 1552, from Thomas Cusacke, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to the Duke of Northumberland; wherein he delivers his opinion, "that the poor and simple people be as soon brought to good order as to evil,

Letter from the Lord Chancellor to the Duke of Northumberland. May, 1552.

if they were taught accordingly; for hard it is for such men to know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching through all the year, to edify the poor ignorant to know his duty. So as, if these poor people were taught to know their duties, and brought up as other subjects be, it is like that they would be good subjects, whereas now they show theirselves obedient through honest exhortation, and most part for fear." And he afterwards says, that "preachers should be appointed amongst them, to tell them their duties towards God and their king, that they may know what they ought to do. And as for preaching," he again complains, "we have none, which is our lack: without which the ignorant can have no knowledge, and which were very needful to be redressed¹³."

Bishop Bale's
activity in sup-
port of the
Reformation.

In the case, however, of the new Bishop of Ossory, so far at least as his ignorance of the Irish language did not incapacitate him, that energy which was to be expected from a man of his ardent temperament, of his zeal, assiduity, activity, and devotion to the reformed faith, in opposition to the Romish errors, and which he had already long and repeatedly manifested, was put forth in its full force, and not without effect, on his transplantation to the Church of Ireland. For immediately after his consecration, he betook himself to Kilkenny, the place of his cathedral church, and his episcopal residence; and engaged in preaching the Gospel, in which practice he constantly persevered, notwithstanding the opposition and contradiction which assailed him from the greater part of his prebendaries, and from the advocates of the Papacy in general.

¹³ MSS. T. C. D. F. 3, 16, p. 70.

The principles, indeed, and practices of the Reformation appear to have taken very faint hold of the minds of the people at this period: and, even where the provisions of the English liturgy were avowedly adopted, they were corrupted by an intermixture of Romish superstitions. The holy Communion of the Lord's Supper was "used like a Popish mass, with the old apish toys of anti-Christ, in bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings; the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached, nor yet spoken of." On his arrival from England at Waterford, Bale had been forcibly impressed by the appearance of these remnants of the old idolatry, as well as by the "prodigious howlings and patterings" with which they wailed over the dead, as if the redemption by Christ's passion were not sufficient to procure quiet for the souls of the deceased, and to deliver them out of hell without these "sorrowful sorceries." His appearance soon afterwards in Dublin, and that of his friend and former associate the Archbishop of Armagh elect, are stated by him to have been cordially welcomed in the metropolis: where "much of the people," he observes, "did greatly rejoice of our coming thither, thinking by our preachings the Pope's superstitions would diminish, and the true Christian religion increase¹⁴."

Principles of the Reformation mixed with Popish corruptions.

Remnants of Popery in Divine service.

Thus instigated on the one hand by horror of the enormities which he had witnessed, and cheered on the other by the friends of the reformed doctrines, Bishop Bale, immediately after his consecration, went forward to his charge.

Subjects of Bale's preaching.

"My first proceedings," he says, "in that doing

¹⁴ BALE'S *Vocacyon*, printed in the *Harleian Miscellanies*, vol. vi. pp. 411, 412.

were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the Gospel of salvation: to acknowledge and believe, that there was but one God; and Him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship: to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in his alone for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian Church; and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number.

Not aided by his clergy.

Opposed by the Popish priests.

“I preached the Gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God: I maintained the political order by doctrine, and moved the Commons always to obey their magistrates. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites' yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and, in the end, the slaughter of men. Much ado I had with the priests: for that I had said among other, that the white gods of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no gods, but idols; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed, redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added that their office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chaunting, piping, and singing.”

His animadversions on their licentiousness;

Together with the foregoing cause of displeasure which he gave the priests, was connected the freedom wherewith he animadverted on the licentiousness of their lives. “Much were the priests offended also, for that I had in my preachings willed them to

have wives of their own, and to leave the unshame-faced occupying of other men's wives, daughters, and servants. But hear what answer they made me always, yea, the most vicious men among them: 'What! should we marry,' said they, 'for half a year, and so lose our livings?' . . . Well, the truth is, I could never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bring any of them to marriage; neither yet cause them to leave that filthy and abominable occupying, what though I most earnestly laboured it."

The English liturgy was another subject of the bishop's earnest admonitions, and another cause of scandal to the clergy. "Another thing was there, that much had displeased the prebendaries and other priests. I had earnestly, ever since my first coming, required them to observe and follow that only Book of Common Prayer, which the king and his council had that year put forth by Act of Parliament. But that would they at no hand obey; alleging, for their vain and idle excuse, the lewd example of the Archbishop of Dublin, which was always slack in things pertaining to God's glory: alleging also, the want of books, and that their own justices and lawyers had not consented thereunto: as though it had been lawful for their justices to have denied the same, or as though they had rather have hanged upon them, than upon the king's authority, and commandment of his council¹⁵."

His admonitions
on the English
liturgy.

These allegations, however, had more in their favour than the bishop was willing to allow: for the clergy might have reasonably and properly had regard to the example of their metropolitan, and to the authority of the government of the country,

Obstacles to the
reception of the
English liturgy
of 5 and 6 Edward
VI., not unrea-
sonable.

¹⁵ BALE'S *Vocacyon*, as above, pp. 413, 414.

which was now administered by the Lord Chancellor Cusack, and Aylmer, lord chief justice of the King's Bench, who had been appointed Lords Justices of the kingdom in the preceding December. As to "the lewd example," meaning, I suppose, the foolish or ignorant example, "of the Archbishop of Dublin," the case appears to have been this: he had received the First Book of King Edward, in obedience to the king's order, through the Irish government, but he had not received the king's Second Book, lately authorised by the English parliament, but hitherto, so far as is recorded, not ordered to be received in Ireland. Had the order been given, the same motives now, as before, would doubtless have secured the archbishop's obedience. But with respect to the writer of the foregoing accusation, it may be remarked, that with an uncommon warmth of temperament, he allowed himself in the use of an unbecoming coarseness, and even grossness of expression, in speaking of those who had incurred his displeasure. And that his displeasure had been incurred in no slight degree by Archbishop Browne, is evident from this and other passages in this treatise, where his character is censured in no measured terms, but without a statement of reasons sufficient to justify the charges.

Bale's continued
diligence.

But however these things may have been, the Bishop of Ossory was diligent in discharging his pastoral duties, preaching continually in his cathedral of Kilkenny till after Midsummer, though not without much opposition. Still the period during which he presided over his diocese, "quietly preaching Christ and salvation by him alone to his people, and labouring to withdraw them from popish superstitions," seems to have been a season of satisfaction to him-

self, and of profit to his flock. And he speaks with complacency of that "half-hour's silence," as he styles it, alluding to St. John's expression in the Revelation, chap. viii., 1, "and those few years of rest that God's people here enjoyed under that blessed servant of Christ, King Edward."

But the period was short. For he had scarcely occupied his seat six months, when the king died, and Queen Mary ascended the regal throne. The Archbishop of Armagh, Goodacre, who had been consecrated with Bishop Bale in February, had died in the following May, a few weeks before the king's demise; "that godly preacher, and virtuous learned man," as he is characterised by Bale in his *Vocacyon*; who alleges that he was "poisoned at Dublin by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices." The account, which conveyed to him this intelligence, warned him also that a similar plot was laid against his own life. It ought, however, in justice to be stated that no evidence is given of the allegation; and that Sir James Ware, in his brief sketch of the archbishop's life, does not adopt the charge, but merely records his death, without attempting to assign the cause; wherein he is followed by Mr. Stuart, the historian of the city of Armagh. Bale also relates, what he probably could do with greater certainty, that the archbishop left behind him many writings of great value; if, however, any of them were published, their publication had escaped the researches of the industrious ecclesiastical antiquary, Strype¹⁰; nor is his name included in Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's history of English writers who flourished in Ireland, where may be

Death of the
king and of
Archbishop
Goodacre.
1553.

Alleged cause of
Archbishop
Goodacre's death.

¹⁰ *Memorials of Abp. Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 400.

found a long catalogue of Bale's own publications¹⁷.

Summary of religious improvement during this reign.

The death of the king on the 6th of July, 1553, put a stop for the present to the improvement of the Church of Ireland. Not much, indeed, had been done or attempted by the English government in that behalf, during his six years' reign; a forbearance which is probably to be attributed to a prudence or timidity of counsels during the king's minority, and to a sense of the intractable temper of the people, and their inveterate attachment to the superstitions of the Church of Rome. The foundations, however, for future improvement had been laid, in the maintenance of the king's supremacy, in the appointment of men of high character to the episcopacy, in the introduction of the English Liturgy, and in the initiative step for its being set forth in the Irish language. By these means, as well as by a careful and due administration of the laws of England, great countenance and encouragement were given to those who embraced the Reformed religion, especially within those counties known by the name of the English pale; the Common Prayer Book of England being brought over thither, and used in most of the churches of the English plantation, by authority of the king, there being hitherto no law of their own parliaments to enforce it on their observance¹⁸.

¹⁷ Book II. p. 325.

¹⁸ HEYLYN'S *History of the Reformation*, p. 123.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF

QUEEN MARY 1553—1558.

GEORGE DOWDALL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

AND PRIMATE 1553—1558.

Proclamations on Queen Mary's accession. Reinstatement of Archbishop Dowdall. Deprivation of the Protestant Bishops. Their places occupied by Papists. Hugh Curwen, archbishop of Dublin. Revival of popish superstitions. Encouraged by the Lord Deputy. Pope Paul's Bull. Acts of Parliament for suppressing heresy and Lollardy. The Queen's purpose of persecuting the Protestants interrupted by her Death.

THE succession of Queen Mary to the crown of Ireland did not encounter the temporary interruption which was opposed to her claim upon the crown of England. The crown of Ireland, indeed, had been entailed upon the Lady Elizabeth by name, by the Irish statute of the 28th year of King Henry the Eighth, chapter 2; and that statute had not been subsequently repealed by any Irish act. But the English statute of the 35th year of King Henry the Eighth, chapter 2, was, in effect, a repeal of the aforesaid Irish statute, as it was avowedly a repeal of the English statutes to the same effect. For Ireland was a kingdom subordinate to that of England, and forming a part of its dominion. Whoever was king of England, was, in fact, king of Ireland, as much as he was of any of the minor dependent islands, the Isle of Sheppy, for example, or the Isle of Wight. This was the case at common law; and it had been explained to be so by the Irish statute of

Succession to the crown of Ireland regulated by that to the crown of England.

33rd Henry the Eighth, chapter 1, wherein it was enacted that the king and his successors, kings of England, shall be "kings of Ireland, as united and knit to the imperial crown of the realm of England." Thus Ireland was bound to submit to the same disposal of the crown, which might be made in England; so that when after twelve days' disturbance, which had been raised in opposition to Queen Mary, she was peaceably seated on the English throne, her succession to that of Ireland followed as a regular consequence¹.

Proclamations
on the queen's
accession.

Intelligence of this event having been communicated by the council of England to the lords justices of Ireland, the queen's succession was announced in Ireland by a proclamation, which had been sent over from the council of England on the 20th of July, 1553; wherein she was styled "supreme head of the church." This was read in Dublin, and in other cities and towns of the kingdom, as is usual on such occasions; and was soon after followed by another proclamation, giving to all persons who would, liberty to attend the mass, but not compelling thereunto those who were unwilling.¹

Rejoicings at
Kilkenny.

It what way this event may have been celebrated by the friends of the papacy in other towns of Ireland, I am not aware that we have information. But the following account of the proceedings at Kilkenny, given by Bishop Bale, is curious, and may, perhaps, be taken as a specimen of what occurred elsewhere.

Bishop Bale's account of them.
August, 1553.

"On the 20th day of August," he says, "was the Lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that could be devised, of processions,

¹ Cox, i. 29.

musters, and disguisings, all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests, about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre, in procession, it were too much to write.

"I told them earnestly, when they would have compelled me thereto, that I was not Moses' minister, but Christ's. I desired them not to compel me to his denial, which is, St. Paul saith, in the repeating of Moses' sacraments and ceremonial shadows. (Gal. v.) With that I took Christ's testament in my hand, and went to the market cross, the people in great number following. There took I the 13th chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, declaring to them briefly what the authority was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the meantime had the prelates [*qu.* prebendaries] gotten two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession pageants of one.

"The young men in the forenoon played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, at the market cross, with organ, plainges, and songs, very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of St. John the Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptising, and of his temptations in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there²."

The bishop was still active, both publickly and privately, in maintaining, what he believed to be the truths of the Gospel, in opposition to all gainsayers. But "on Thursday the last day of August," he says, "I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny blasphemously resumed again the whole Papism, or heap

Restoration of
Popish super-
stitions.

² BALE'S *Vocacyon*, as above.

of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome: to the utter contempt of Christ and his holy word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politick order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rang all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy-water stocks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously all the town over, with 'Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis,' and the rest of the Latin Litany. They chattered it, they chaunted it with great noise and devotion; they banquetted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.'

"For now they may, now from thenceforth, again deceive the people, as they did aforetime, with their Latin mumblings, and make merchandise of them. 2 Peter ii.

"They may make the witless sort believe, that they can make every day new gods of their little white cakes, and that they can fetch their friends' souls from flaming purgatory, if need be, with other great miracles else.

"They may now without check have other men's wives in occupying, and be at an utter defiance with marriage, though it be an institution of God, honourable, holy, righteous, and perfect.

"I write not this without a cause: for why? There were some among them, which boasted both of this, and much more too vain to be told.

"And when they were demanded, how they would, afore God, be discharged? They made answer, that ear-confession was able to burnish them

again, and to make them so white as snow, though they thus offended never so oft."

The death of Archbishop Goodacre, between two and three months before the queen's accession, saved him from deprivation, and left the see open for the restoration of Archbishop Dowdall; who, towards the close of the year 1553, and shortly after the arrival of the new viceroy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, was recalled from his voluntary banishment; and on the 12th of March following was by letters patent restored to the title of primate of all Ireland, which King Edward had granted to Archbishop Browne, but the patent for which the queen now obliged him to surrender, and deliver it cancelled into the chancery³.

Dowdall restored to the archbishoprick and primacy.

March, 1554.

The restoration of this dignity to the recalled archbishop was accompanied by a declaration of the ancient usage, according to which it had been appropriated to the metropolitan see of Armagh. "We restore," said the queen to Archbishop Dowdall, "the primacy of all Ireland, which your predecessors, beyond the memory of man, have been known to have held; and we confirm to you for ever the same, commanding that all other archbishops and bishops shall pay obedience to the primates in the exercise of their primatial office." Thus he recovered both the archbishoprick and the style of pre-eminence formerly annexed to it, as it were by a "remitter" or restitution to that right, of which he had been before deprived. On the same day a grant was also made to him *in commendam* during life, of the precincts of the late dissolved monastery or hospital of St. John of Athirdee, of which he had

Declaration of the appropriation of the primacy to Armagh.

³ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 640.

been prior before the dissolution of abbeys, and before his original promotion to the archbishoprick of Armagh.

St. Leger again
Lord Deputy.
Sept. 1553.

No time was now lost in endeavouring to reduce Ireland again under the entire dominion of Popery. And it is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that the individual, Sir Anthony St. Leger, under whose government this new religious change was to be effected, was the same who had been entrusted with the viceregal office, for effecting the alteration of the preceding reigns: and who, having been superseded in the reign of King Edward, was now again sent over to Ireland, and resumed his office of Lord Deputy in September, 1553.

Commission for
restoring Popery,
April, 1554.

In pursuance of the plan for re-establishing the Papal dominion, in April, 1554, the month following that in which the primate had been restored, a commission was issued to the archbishop, to Walsh, elect bishop of Meath, Leverous, the future bishop of Kildare, and other delegates, empowering them to take measures for restoring the Papal religion, and especially for re-establishing celibacy among the clergy, by punishing those who had been guilty of violating it by marriage. In execution of this commission, on the 29th of June, Staples, bishop of Meath, was deprived of his see, one of his judges being the person previously chosen for his successor; and in the latter end of the same year the like penalty was inflicted on Browne, archbishop of Dublin; Lancaster, bishop of Kildare; Travers, bishop of Leighlin; and Casey, bishop of Limerick. Bale, bishop of Ossory, had fled beyond the seas⁴.

And punishing
the married
clergy.

Deprivation of
the Protestant
bishops;

Of these prelates, Bishop Staples is said to have been "deposed on account of a conspiracy against

⁴ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 92. Cox's *Hist.*, i., 299.

the Roman pontiff," meaning probably that he had taken an active part in the Reformation, especially in maintaining the king's, in preference to the Pope's supremacy. Such is the statement of a roll, cited in Archdall's MS. additions in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Besides which, the general offence with which they were all charged was, that they were married men: the same offence which had been visited a short time before by the same penalty on their English brethren in the episcopate; and the same which was likewise visited on some of the inferior clergy of Ireland, as in the case of James White; the particulars of whose trial in 1557, at which Bishop Leverous presided, on an accusation of having contracted matrimony, are still extant in a visitation book of the diocese of Dublin⁵.

And of the
inferior clergy.

Of these martyrs of the Reformation in Ireland, Archbishop Browne has been the subject of a Popish aspersion, noticed in his life, page 159, that "he died through joy, having had a bull from the Pope, to be restored to his see of Dublin:" an aspersion, supported by no evidence but the gratuitous affirmation of a Romish writer; inconsistent with the fact, that the Pope, if he had granted such a bull, must likewise have dispensed with his marriage, which rendered him, according to the tenets of Rome, incapable of holding a bishoprick; but above all diametrically opposed to a long course of professional activity, in which he exerted his powers with simplicity and sincerity, and used all faithful diligence in repressing the errors and corruptions of the papacy.

Popish calumny
against Arch-
bishop Browne.

What remains of his subsequent history amounts to no more than this: that he, as well as the Bishops

Subsequent his-
tory of the de-
prived bishops.

⁵ MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 162.

Persecutions of
Bishop Bale.

Staples, Lancaster, and Travers, is supposed to have died not long after deprivation. Bishop Casey survived the reign of the persecuting queen, and was restored to his see by Queen Elizabeth. Bishop Bale, before his flight, had been the object of violent assaults from some Popish priests and others, who sought his life, and attacked him in his house at Bishop's Court, and slew five of his servants before his face. But he defended himself by shutting the iron grate of his castle, and was thus preserved from his enemies till the arrival of the chief magistrate of Kilkenny with a military force; who, under favour of the night, conveyed him in safety to Kilkenny, and thence sent him to Dublin. But there also his life was hunted after; so that he was again compelled to take refuge in flight; until at length, after numerous perils and disasters, from storms and pirates, from captivity and plunder, he reached Basle; and thence, after a peaceful abode of five years, returned to England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but never sought a restoration to his see, being contented with a prebend in the cathedral of Canterbury, bestowed on him by the bounty of the queen. In 1559 Bishop Bale was one of the seven bishops named in the warrant for the consecration of Dr. Parker to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, but he was not called upon to officiate at that solemnity.

Substitution of
Papists.

In the room of the deprived bishops, supporters of the Reformation, popish prelates were substituted; the mode of their appointment being expressed by Sir James Ware in a variety of phraseology, such as "appointed by the queen, and confirmed by the Pope;" "by a Papal provision;" "advanced by the Pope at the instance of the queen;" "advanced by

the queen." And they, on their consecration, took the following oath, as appears from the publick records: "I, A. B., bishop of C., elected and consecrated, do profess that I have and hold all the temporal possessions of the said bishoprick from your hands, and from your successors, kings of England, as in right of the crown of your kingdom of Ireland, and to you and your successors, kings of England, I will be faithful. So help me God, and God's holy gospels⁶."

After the deprivation of Archbishop Browne, the see continued vacant for some time. But on the 22nd of February, 1555, a licence was issued by King Philip and Queen Mary to proceed to the election of a successor: the licence having been, it should seem, preceded by the queen's letter, under her privy signet, to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, dated the 18th of February, in the first and second year of her reign, and signed on the top of the letter with her own hand, "Marye the queene," as cited by Harris in his continuation of Ware, from the chapter-house of that cathedral. The person chosen for the archbishoprick was Hugh Curwen, a native of Westmoreland, doctor of laws, dean of Hereford, and archdeacon of Oxford. He was consecrated in St. Paul's cathedral, London, according to the form of the Roman pontifical, on the 8th of September, 1555, together with the bishops of Exeter and Bangor; and on the 12th of September, four days after his consecration, he was appointed by the queen, whose chaplain he was, lord chancellor of Ireland, whither he proceeded without delay, taking with him the following charge from her majesty.

Hugh Curwen
appointed to
Dublin.
February, 1555.

His consecration
in St. Paul's,
London.

⁶ Cox, i. 300.

Queen's charge
to the dean and
chapter of Christ
Church.

"To our trusty and well-beloved dean and chapter of the cathedral of Christ's Church, in Dublin, within our realm of Ireland.

"Mary Queen.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved councillor, the Archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for that see, repaireth speedily to that our realm of Ireland, as well to reside upon the cure of his bishoprick, which now of long hath been destitute of a Catholick bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high chancellor of that our realm: albeit we have good hopes ye will in all things of yourselves carry yourselves towards him as becometh you; yet to the intent he might govern the clergy committed unto him, to the honour of Almighty God, and for the remain of our service, we have thought fit to require and charge you, that for your part ye reverently receive him, honour, and humbly obey him in all things, as appertaineth to the duties tending to God's glory, our honour, and the common weal of that our realm, whereby ye shall please God, and do us acceptable service.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich the 15th day of September, in the third year of our reign."

Incidents in the
early life of Arch-
bishop Curwen.

The new archbishop had formerly been chaplain to King Henry VIII., and in that capacity had preached often before him, so that his sentiments upon the leading articles of controversy at that period were made known, and have been transmitted to posterity. By Strype, in his *Life of Parker*, vol. i. 508, we are informed that "in the year 1532, in a sermon before the king, he spoke much in behalf of the supremacy; when one Elston, a friar of Greenwich, openly told him in that presence, 'he lied;' for which he was committed to prison. In 1533, when Friar Peto had, in the king's presence, at Greenwich, inveighed against the king's marriage with Anne Bolen; Dr. Curwin the next Sunday

An advocate for
the supremacy;

preached before the king, and spake as much for that marriage; and added, that he much wondered how a subject dared so audaciously to behave himself before the king's face, as he had done. But however he were for the supremacy and the marriage, and went along with the king in his other proceedings, yet he was a zealous man for the corporal presence; and the death of the pious Frith was attributed to him. For in a sermon preached before the king in Lent, he inveighed against the Sacramentaries; and at length in some heat said, 'It is no marvel, though this abominable heresy so much prevail among us; for there is one now in the Tower (meaning Frith), so bold as to write in defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation.' But this," adds Strype, "was the Bishop of Winchester's device, to put the king upon prosecuting that poor man."

And for the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn.

Zealous for the corporal presence.

On his appointment to the see of Dublin, he set himself to counteract the effects which had been wrought by his predecessor; especially he caused to be re-erected in Christ Church the marble image of our Saviour, which Archbishop Browne had displaced; though, as we shall see in the succeeding reign, he himself again caused the image to be removed. Both of these facts are recorded by Strype, (*Life of Parker*, i. 90,) who seems to have been not without reason for the character, which he elsewhere gives of Archbishop Curwen, that he was "a complier in all reigns." (*Life of Cranmer*, p. 54.)

He encourages idolatry.

A complier in all reigns.

The following extract from a contemporaneous letter, dated December 4, 1555, gives an account of the impression made in his favour by his first appearance in his new situation; but the accom-

Favourable impression made by his first sermon, December, 1555.

panying notice that it was written "from Martin Pelly, or Pellys, or Pells, to the Lo" leaves us in ignorance of the author, except as to his name, as well as of the nobleman to whom it was addressed.

"Also please it your lordship to be advertised, that the Archbishop of Dublin did preach his first sermon that he made in this land the Sunday after St. Andrew, in Christ Church in Dublin, and did set forth the word of God in his sermon sincerely and after such a sort, that those men that be learned and unlearned both do give him as high praise, as I have heard given to any one man; so that those men, that favour the word of God, are very glad of him, and prayeth for him so to continue⁷."

Other sees taken possession of by the Popish bishops.

At or about the same time the other newly appointed bishops took possession of the vacant sees: Walsh, of Meath; Leverous, of Kildare; O'Fihely, or Field, of Loughlin; Lacy, or Lees, of Limerick; and Thorney, of Kilkenny. All of these appear to have been natives of Ireland. Roland Baron, likewise a native, had been previously appointed by the queen to the archbishoprick of Cashel, vacant at the time of her succession; being elected by the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, of Cashel, at the command of her majesty, by a *congé d'élire*, dated the 20th of November, in the first year of her reign.

Primate Dowdall active in restoring Popery.

Meanwhile the restored primate was not remiss in testifying his zeal for the peculiarities of his religion, which had been shaken by the inroads of the Reformation.

In 1554, the same year in which he acted in

⁷ WARE'S MSS. v. 75, p. 180, ex Collect. D. Geo. Carew, Lambeth MSS. Library, No. 602, p. 136.

the same cause under the royal commission, he held a provincial synod in St. Peter's church, Drogheda, or Tredagh, as the town was then called; the constitutions of which chiefly tended to the restoration of Popery and the deprivation of the married clergy, and of which one article laid an obligation upon all rectors and vicars who did not know how to preach, of engaging a substitute to preach for them four times a year. The next year he caused a day of jubilee to be observed through all Ireland for the restoration of the Romish religion. And in 1556 he held another provincial synod at Drogheda, in which little more was done than the giving of liberty to husbandmen and labourers to work on certain festivals during harvest.

Provincial synod
at Drogheda.
1554.

Jubilee for re-
storation of
Popery. 1555.

Provincial synod
at Drogheda.
1556.

In the second of these years the Archbishop of Dublin also, it being the year of his appointment, held a synod of his province, "as he pretended for reformation of religion^a," and therein made some constitutions about the rites and ceremonies to be used in the Church. Of the value of some of these ceremonies a judgment may be formed from their probable similarity to those of which notice is incidentally given as being in use under the revived Romish ritual. On the swearing-in of the Lord Chancellor (Archbishop Curwen,) and Sir Henry Sydney, as lords justices in 1557, "mass was celebrated, and they were censured and sprinkled with holy water." And on occasion of a rebellion in Thomond being quelled by the Lord Deputy in the same year, "the Earl of Thomond, together with the freeholders of that country, did, on Sunday, the 10th of July, swear on the sacrament, and by all the reliques of the church, as book, bell, and candle-

Provincial synod
in Dublin.

Revival of
Romish rites.
1557.

^a LOTUS MS., Marsh's Library.

light, (they are, says Cox, the very words of the herald's certificate,) to continue loyal to the queen, and to perform their agreements with the Lord Deputy^o."

Lord Fitzwalter,
lord deputy.

St. Leger re-
moved for
satirizing tran-
substantiation.

The Lord Deputy here mentioned was Thomas Ratcliff, Viscount Fitzwalter, afterwards Earl of Sussex, who had entered on his office in May, 1556, as the successor of Sir Anthony St. Leger, who, by some satirical verses in ridicule of the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation, had given occasion to his enemies at the English court for effecting his removal. "Queen Mary," says Campion, in his *History of Ireland*, chapter 10, "established in her crown, committed her government once more to St. Leger, whom sundry not known pelted and lifted at, till they shouldered him quite out of all credit. He, to be counted forward and pliable to the taste of King Edward the Sixth's reign, rhymed against the real presence for his pastime, and let the papers fall where courtiers might light thereon, who greatly magnified the pith and conveyance of that noble sonnet. But the original of his own hand-writing had the same firmly, though contrary to his own judgment, wandering in so many hands, that his adversaries caught it, and tripped it in his way; the spot whereof he could never wipe out. Thus was he removed, a discreet gentleman, very studious of the state of Ireland, enriched, stout enough, without gall."

The Lord Deputy
no enemy to
Popery;

For this, or for some other reasons, St. Leger was recalled; and his place was filled by the Lord Fitzwalter, who, on his arrival, showed that he had no anti-popish prepossessions, by taking the usual oath of office at the altar in Christ Church, on a

mass-book¹⁰. And soon after, on the 2nd of July, he proceeded to St. Patrick's Cathedral, nobly accompanied, and was received at the door under a canopy of state by the archbishop, arrayed in his pontificals, the clergy also being habited in rich copes: and kneeling there, he was censed, and having kissed the cross, received the archiepiscopal blessing; after which, proceeding to the high altar, he continued kneeling there while the *Te Deum* was singing; and was there again censed and blessed, and mass was celebrated by the archbishop¹¹.

But the religious principles of the new viceroy, and the views and purposes of the English government, were formidably testified by the instructions, of which he was the bearer, to himself and the council. These, bearing the superscription of "Mary the Queen," by their first article require the Lord Deputy and council, "by their example and all good means possible to advance the honour of God and the Catholick faith; to set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's holiness and see apostolick of Rome; and from time to time be ready with their aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries there, to punish and repress all hereticks and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors, and to assist the commissioners of the legate, Cardinal Poole, which he designed to send into Ireland to visit the clergy."

His instructions
in favour of
Popery.

The spirit of these instructions was transfused into the Acts passed in the Parliament that was soon after assembled, namely, on the 1st of June, 1556; and which, in fact, are the earliest Irish Acts, directed against the doctrines of the Reformed Church. For it appears to be an erroneous statement of a modern

Their spirit
transfused into
Acts of Parlia-
ment.
June, 1556.

¹⁰ COX, i, 303.

¹¹ MASON'S *St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 163.

historian of Ireland, at least the printed collection of the Irish Statutes does not verify the statement, that, in the famous parliament, held in the 10th year of King Henry the Seventh, or in 1495, laws had been revived to prevent the growth of Lollardism and heresy.

Bull from Pope
Paul IV.

Manner in which
the bull was
received.

Queen Mary, therefore, is intitled to hold "the bad eminence" of reviving the laws in question by her new acts. As the forerunner of which, however, about this time arrived a bull from the Pope, Paul the Fourth, transmitted through Cardinal Poole, promising pardon and forgiveness to the spirituality, as well as the temporalty of her highness's realms and dominions, who had swerved from the obedience of the See Apostolical, and declined from the unity of Christ's Church. This bull, as related in the preamble to the Act of 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, chap. 8, "having been delivered by the Lord Deputy to the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Curwin, was by him devoutly and reverently received and read upon his knees, in open parliament deliberately and distinctly, in an high voice. And the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in the name of themselves particularly, and also of the whole body of the realm, hearing the same, embraced it right reverently and humbly kneeling upon their knees, being repentant: and yielding thanks, had *Te Deum* solemnly sung. And further, for a due proof of their repentance, immediately proceeded to abrogate and repeal all the acts and statutes made in parliament, since the 20th year of King Henry the Eighth, against the See Apostolical of Rome, according to the tenour and effect of the said bull."

By this Act, the 3 and 4 of Philip and Mary, chap. 8, much false and erroneous doctrine was

acknowledged to have been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers the natural born subjects of the realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries: the providence of God was commemorated, for having raised up and set in the seat royal their majesties, as "persons undefiled, and by God's goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid:" the title of supreme head of the Church was pronounced to be not justly attributable to any king or governor; but writs, letters patents, commissions, and other documents, whether the title of supremacy were contained or omitted, were declared good: bulls and dispensations from Rome, not prejudicial to authority royal, or the laws in force, and not repealed in this parliament, were allowed to be put in execution: and the Pope's holiness and See Apostolick were ordained to be restored, and to have and enjoy such authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction, as his Holiness used and exercised, or might have lawfully used and exercised by the authority of his supremacy, the said 20th year of the reign of the king, her majesty's father, within this her realm of Ireland and other her dominions."

Purport of the Act for repealing Statutes against the see of Rome.

Pope's authority restored.

And by another Act of the same Parliament, intituled, "An Act for reviving of three Statutes made for the Punishment of Heresies," being 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, c. 9, "for the eschewing and avoiding of errors and heresies, which of late have risen, grown, and much increased, within this realm, for that the ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith," it was enacted, that "the three statutes made respectively in the reigns of King Richard the Second, King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Fifth, 'con-

Act for reviving statutes against heresy.

cerning the arresting and apprehension of erroneous and heretical preachers,' and 'concerning repressing of heresies and punishment of hereticks,' and 'concerning the suppression of heresy and Lollardy,' and every article, branch, and sentence contained in the same three several acts, and every of them, shall from the first day of this present parliament be revived, and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatever."

Penalties denounced by the revived statutes.

The reader may probably not be aware of the enactments of the statutes thus revived, "made for the punishment of heresy." It is requisite, therefore, to be added in explanation, and for the proper understanding of the tender mercies of his Holiness the Pope, and of her gracious majesty the queen, and of the true nature of that "right way" of religion which they professed, that by the revival of these statutes, the severest penalties were denounced upon all persons preaching or teaching, or evidently suspected of preaching or teaching, against the Catholic, whereby, by the arrogant ascription to a particular church, of the name which belonged to the Church universal, was meant the Romish faith; and that all such persons might be arrested by the diocesan; and on conviction be kept in prison and tried at his discretion; and refusing to abjure, or on relapsing, be delivered to the secular arm and burnt for the terror of others.

Act for the discharge of first fruits.

Two or three other enactments, respecting the Church, were made in this parliament. By the act, chap. 10, "for the discharge of the first fruits," payments of first fruits to the crown on ecclesiastical benefices were in future to cease, as well as of the yearly tenths: and certain rectories, glebes, and other emoluments, spiritual and ecclesiastical, latterly

possessed by the crown, were now renounced and relinquished; with a proviso, however, that the act should not extend to any grants made by letters patent to any persons or bodies, other than to spiritual and ecclesiastical corporations. Thus the spoils of the Church, previously bestowed on the laity, were confirmed and perpetuated.

Yet an exception to this appears in the case of the priorship of St. John's of Jerusalem, commonly called Kilmainham, which, at the request of the king and queen, Cardinal Poole, by his legatine power, restored to its former possessors in 1557, and made Oswald Messingberd the prior. This appointment and institution was confirmed by the queen's patent in the ensuing month. But in 1559, the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the new prior fled the country; and within a year, by a new act of parliament, the priorship was again suppressed, and the whole disposal of it left to the crown¹².

In the same parliament, a petition from the new Archbishop of Dublin, complaining of devastations made by his predecessor in the archiepiscopal property, was favourably received: and an act (which however will be sought in vain, in chap. 10 of this parliament, to which reference is given for it by Dr. Leland, or anywhere else among the printed statutes,) was passed, whereby all grants, made by Archbishop Browne, of any parcel of the archbishoprick, either to his own use, or that of his "bastards," (for such was the term of ignominy, with which the legislature thought it well to brand his children born in honourable wedlock,) were declared utterly void¹³.

Act branding
Archbishop
Browne's
children as
bastards.

Meanwhile a commission had been issued, bearing date December the 3rd, 1556, to the Archbishop

¹² WARE'S *Annals*, p. 143.

¹³ *History*, vol. ii. p. 213.

Commission
about Church
property and
churches.
Dec. 1556.

of Dublin, and the deans of Christ Church and St. Patrick's; together with other commissioners who were laymen, for taking account of all lands or tenements, all plate, bells, and other utensils or sums of money, which had lately belonged to the churches or chapels of the diocese of Dublin: and for inquiring into the state of such churches or chapels as were ruinous, and reporting by whose fault they became so: similar commissions were issued about the same time, for the like purpose, in other dioceses¹⁴.

Gloomy prospect
for Protestants.

Reverting, however, to the act for reviving the three statutes for the punishment of heresy, it may be remarked, that the revival of these statutes, following on the instructions given to the Lord Deputy and privy council, opened a fearful and gloomy prospect to those, who should be so presumptuous as to teach, or so unhappy as to incur the suspicion of teaching, what the subjects and agents of the Pope should deem heretical, or not agreeable to the Popish creed.

Penalties
avoided by wis-
dom and caution.

It may be said, perhaps, that no hereticks were actually visited with the penalties denounced by these formidable statutes. If the assertion be admitted, the cause may be found rather in the wisdom and caution of the friends of the Reformation, than in the forbearance and dove-like harmlessness of the champions of the papacy. Thus in the year 1554, on account of prosecutions then instituted against their religion, several English Protestants had fled into Ireland from Cheshire; and bringing with them their families, goods, and chattels, lived in Dublin, and became citizens of that city. They had with them a Welshman, a Protestant priest, who secretly

¹⁴ *Rot. Pat. Cmc.*, quoted by Mason, p. 163.

read to them on Sundays, and other days, the English service and the Scriptures. But the cause of their coming, and this their private occupation, were not discovered till after Queen Mary's death¹⁵.

Should it be further said, that the penalties were not intended to be, and would not, in the course of time, have been inflicted; proof may be required of the assertion. And on the other hand, that it was intended for the act not to sleep in peaceful inaction, may be inferred from the simple fact of its having been enacted: for if otherwise, why was it enacted at all? The same is to be inferred from the concomitant and consistent instructions to the Lord Deputy and the council; if otherwise, what was their use, and why were they given? The conduct also of the queen, with respect to the friends of the Reformation in England, is an argument for the conduct which would be pursued in Ireland, if occasion were found to exist. The character of Popery at all times is a corroborative proof of the same.

Intended persecutions;

Shown by various considerations.

On the whole, it is strictly in accordance with the parliamentary enactments now under consideration, with the proceedings of the government, with the habits of the queen, and with the genius of her religion, that means should have been taken for inflicting severe punishment on the dissentients from the Romish faith. There is, therefore, no cause of astonishment in reading, that a commission was issued for the purpose, although that purpose was happily frustrated by a remarkable incident, concerning which Cox observes, "Because the author quotes the most reverend and learned primate, Ussher, and the memorials of the most noble and industrious Richard, earl of Cork, for the following

Commission against the Irish heretics;

¹⁵ WARE's *Annals*, p. 135.

story, I will insert it *verbatim*, as it is already printed in the life of Archbishop Browne.

In what manner
frustrated.

“Queen Mary, having dealt severely with the Protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign signed a commission for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to execute the same with greater force, she nominated Dr. Cole one of the commissioners, sending the commission by this doctor: who in his journey coming to Chester, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a Churchman, waited on the doctor: who, in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag a leather box, saying unto him, ‘Here is a commission, that shall lash the hereticks of Ireland,’ calling the Protestants by that title. The good woman of the house, being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother, named John Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen of Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor’s words. But watching her convenient time, whilst the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimenting him down the stairs, she opens the box, and takes the commission out, placing in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, the knave of clubs faced uppermost, wrapt up. The doctor, coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the 7th of October, 1558, at Dublin: then coming to the castle, the Lord Fitzwalter, being the Lord Deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council. Who coming in, after he had made a speech, relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the Lord Deputy: who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the Lord Deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone. Then the Lord Deputy made answer, ‘Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while.’ The doctor being

By the ingenuity
of an English
woman.

troubled in his mind went his way, and returned into England, and coming to the court obtained another commission ; but staying for the wind at the water-side, news came unto him that Queen Mary was dead. And thus God preserved the Protestants in Ireland¹⁶."

The sequel of the story is, that, on the recalling of the Lord Deputy into England, Queen Elizabeth, discoursing with him concerning several passages in Ireland, amongst other things he related the foregoing narrative : which so delighted the queen, that her majesty sent for the good woman, Elizabeth Edmonds, or by her husband's name, Mattershed, and gave her a pension of forty pounds a year during her life, for saving her majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland¹⁷.

Her recompense
from Queen
Elizabeth.

Queen Mary died on the 17th of November, 1558 ; leaving behind her a character of unexampled intolerance and cruelty towards those of her subjects who differed from her religious faith. She was most probably a sincere and zealous Papist ; "and verily thought with herself that she ought to do many things contrary" to the profession of the reformed creed. But the more her evil deeds are extenuated by a supposition of the sincerity of her zeal, the more deep and dark is the brand of ignominy stamped upon that form of Christianity, which actuated her in so nefarious a career.

Death of Queen
Mary.
Nov. 17. 1558.

¹⁶ Cox, i. 308.

¹⁷ WARE'S *Annals*, p. 164.

CHAPTER V.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH	1558—1603.
ADAM LOFTUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE	1562—1568.
THOMAS LANCASTER	1568—1584.
JOHN LONG	1584—1589.
JOHN GARVEY	1589—1594.
HENRY USSHER	1595—

SECTION I.

Dilatory Proceedings with respect to the Irish Church. Revival of the English Liturgy. Remarkable occurrence on the singing of the Litany in Christ Church. Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament. Act for restoring the jurisdiction of the Crown. Act of Uniformity. Remarkable clause of it. Acts relating to the First Fruits and the election of Bishops. Alterations in Ecclesiastical matters during the last reigns. Removal of Popish Images and Reliques. Appointment of Adam Loftus to the Primacy. Apostolical Succession in the Church of Ireland. Declaration of Chief Articles of Religion.

Queen Elizabeth's accession a relief to the Church.

THE restoration of the royal power to a Protestant sovereign in the person of Queen Elizabeth, whose religious principles were soon avowed in favour of the Reformation, relieved the friends of that alteration in the Church of Ireland from such terrors as they may have felt from the dominion of a Popish queen, armed with power, as she was possessed with the inclination, to enforce the tyrannical claims of Popery by severe penal inflictions; and opened another door for the revival and further extension

of the true Catholick faith of the Gospel. Elizabeth succeeded to the crown on the 17th of November, 1558. It was not, however, until six months after her succession that any particular measure was decided on immediately affecting the Irish church; nor until three months later that the intended measure was put into operation.

Nov., 1558.

The Earl of Sussex, who had been Lord Deputy during the latter part of the preceding reign, and been continued in that office at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's, was in a short time recalled: but again appointed, and charged, in May, 1559, with his new instructions, with which, however, he did not return to Ireland so as to be sworn into office till the 30th of August.

Earl of Sussex,
Lord Deputy,

1559.

The service in English had ceased to be read publicly from the death of Edward the Sixth until this second arrival of the Earl of Sussex. But then on his going to Christ Church to receive the same, "the Litany was sung in English, and afterwards the Lord Deputy took his oath; and then they began to sing, 'We praise Thee, O God,' at which the trumpets sounded." In the mean time it appears, that "orders had been sent to new paint the walls of Christ Church and St. Patrick's; and instead of pictures and Popish fancies, to place passages or texts of Scripture on the walls; and men had been employed for the execution of that work on the 25th of May¹."

Restoration of
the English
Liturgy.

The choice of persons to fill the high station of Viceroy of Ireland, and to accomplish the important ecclesiastical, as well as civil, commissions entrusted to them, seems to have been less regulated by a regard to their religious principles than might have

Religious prin-
ciples little
regarded in the
choice of vice-
roys,

¹ LOFTUS MS., Marsh's Library.

been reasonably expected. In the reign of King Edward the Sixth, Sir Anthony St. Leger had been Lord Deputy, and was charged with those instructions concerning the English Liturgy, which occasioned the degradation and flight of the Popish Archbishop Dowdall: and in the succeeding reign of Queen Mary, he was re-appointed to the same vice-regal office by that government, which at the same time issued a commission for the deprivation of the Protestant Archbishop Browne. And now the Earl of Sussex, who had been the instrument of Queen Mary's tyrannical projects in favour of Popery, was employed by Queen Elizabeth for the restoration of the English Protestant worship.

Lord Deputy's
instructions.

The instructions to the Lord Deputy and the council with reference to ecclesiastical matters were, "to set up the worship of God as it is in England, and to make such statutes next Parliament, as were lately made in England, *mutatis mutandis*."

The Lord Deputy faithfully obeyed these instructions. But in carrying into effect that which related to the worship of God, a very remarkable case occurred, of which Strype gives the following account in his *Life of Archbishop Parker**. In pursuance of the queen's instructions,

English Litany
sung in Christ
Church.

"The Litany," he says, "was sung in English in Christ Church, Dublin. This gave great offence to some of the Popish zealots, reckoning aright, that the use of the mass was in danger of being laid aside in that cathedral. Something, therefore, was to be done, now or never, to keep the reputation of the old superstition: and a miracle was to be shown in the said church the next Sunday, when the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop, and the rest of the privy council, were there at service.

* Cox, i. 313.

* Vol. i. p. 90. Oxf. Edit.

“There was in that cathedral an image of Christ in marble, standing with a reed in his hand, and the crown of thorns on his head. And while service was saying before this great assembly, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the crucifix. The people did not perceive it at first: therefore some, who were in the fraud, cried out to one another, and bade them see, how our Saviour’s image sweat blood! Whereat several of the common people fell down with their beads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vast numbers flocked to the sight; and one present, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of this cathedral, told the people the cause; namely, ‘That he could not choose but sweat blood, whilst heresy was then come into the church.’ The confusion hereupon was so great, that the assembly broke up. But the people still fell upon their knees, thumping their breasts: and particularly one of the aldermen, and mayor of the city, whose name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the English service, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the rest before the image. The Lord Sussex and those of the privy council hastened out of the choir, fearing some harm.

Popish imposture.

“But the Archbishop of Dublin, being displeased, caused a form to be brought out of the choir, and bade the sexton of the church to stand thereon, and to search and wash the image, and see if it would bleed afresh. The man soon perceived the cheat, observing a sponge within the hollow of the image’s head. This sponge, one Leigh, sometime a monk of this cathedral, had soaked in a bowl of blood: and early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the said sponge, so swollen and heavy with blood, over the image’s head within the crown; and so, by little and little, the blood soaked through upon the face. The sponge was presently brought down, and showed to these worshippers: and some of them cursed Father Leigh, who was soon discovered, and three or four others that had been contrivers with him.

The pretended miracle detected by Archbishop Curwen.

“The archbishop, the next Sunday, preached in the same church before the lord-lieutenant and the council, upon 2 Thess. ii. 11, ‘God shall send them strong delusions,

His sermon on the occasion;

that they should believe a lie:’ exposing the cheats, who openly stood there, with Father Leigh, upon a table before the pulpit, with their hands and legs tied, and the crime written on their breasts. This punishment they suffered three Sundays, were imprisoned for some time, and then banished the realm. This converted above one hundred persons present, who swore they would never hear mass more.

And removal of
the image.

“And further, upon the 10th of September, 1559, the archbishop caused this image to be broken down, although he himself had caused it to be set up at his coming to that see, after it had been pulled down once before by George Browne, the former archbishop in King Edward’s time.”

Such is the account of this monstrous imposition given by Strype; who goes on to relate,

Effect of his
account of the
imposture on
the queen.

“The contents of this did Archbishop Corwen write in a letter to Archbishop Parker: who was glad thereof, by reason that the clergy were debating at this present, whether images should stand in the churches or no; the queen herself being indifferent in this matter, and rather inclinable to them. But this letter, which the archbishop showed her, wrought on her to consent for the throwing of the images out of the churches, together with many texts of Scripture, which our archbishop and other divines had laid before her for the demolishing of them.”

A parliament.
Jan., 1560.

This occurrence, we may presume, was not devoid of effect on the Lord Deputy also, and probably quickened his activity in re-establishing the English Liturgy in pursuance of his instructions. At the same time he was not inattentive to the order relative to his parliamentary duty; and accordingly in the Parliament, which was holden in Dublin the following January, 1560, and continued for a month, the following statutes, provided for the future government and worship of the Church, were promptly enacted.

1. An act was passed, "restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abrogating all foreign power repugnant to the same." By this act, the act of repeal of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary was repealed: and the acts of the twenty-eighth of King Henry the Eighth, which had been thereby repealed, were revived; the act for reviving the three statutes made for the punishment of heresy, and also the said three statutes, were repealed; all manner of foreign power, jurisdiction, and authority, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within the realm, was abolished for ever; such jurisdiction was annexed to the crown; and the queen and her successors were authorized by letters patent under the great seal of England, or of Ireland, or the governors of Ireland, by letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, at the royal pleasure, to assign natural-born subjects to execute the same. The Oath of Supremacy, acknowledging the queen and her successors to be the only supreme governor of this realm, and renouncing all foreign jurisdiction, was required to be taken by all ecclesiastical persons, officers, and ministers: forfeiture of office and promotion during life was enacted as the penalty for refusing to take the oath: to maintain or defend foreign authority was pronounced an offence, for which an ecclesiastical person should, the first time, lose all his benefices; the second time, incur the penalties of *premunire*; and the third time, be adjudged to suffer the penalty of high treason: no matter to be judged heresy, but such as has been so adjudged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by one of the first four general councils, or by any other general council, or shall be so adjudged by parlia-

Act restoring to
the crown its
ancient juris-
diction.
2 Eliz., c. 1.

ment; and the offence to be proved by two witnesses, before the party arraigned, in person, face to face.

2. The next act passed in this parliament, which affected the church, was that "for the uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments."

Act for Uniformity.
2 Eliz., c. 2.

The First Book of Common Prayer, provided in the first year of King Edward the Sixth, had been introduced, as we have seen, into the Church of Ireland by the king's order. But his Second Book, which had been put forth in England in the fifth and sixth years of the king, does not appear to have been ordered for observance in the Irish Church during the short period that the king survived its enactment. This book, having been repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, had been revived, with certain alterations and additions, by the English parliament, soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession: and the use of it was now enacted by the parliament of Ireland in all the cathedral and parish churches of that kingdom. All ministers were commanded to use it: and on such as should refuse to use it, or should use any other form, or should preach, or speak in derogation of it, penalties were imposed; first, the forfeiture of a year's profit of his benefice, and six months' imprisonment; for the second offence, imprisonment for one year, and deprivation; and for the third offence, deprivation and imprisonment for life. On all persons, also, who should despise or deprave the said book, or cause any other common and open prayer to be said or sung, or interrupt the minister in saying Common Prayer, or ministering the sacraments, fines and imprisonment, varying according to the number of offences, were inflicted. All persons, not having reasonable excuse,

were to resort to their parish churches on all Sundays and holydays, and there to abide orderly during the service of God, on pain of the censures of the church, and twelve-pence to be levied by the churchwardens for the use of the poor. All archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, were earnestly required and charged in God's name to put this act in execution, and to punish offenders by the censures of the church. And the books, concerning the appointed services, were ordered to be procured in every parish and cathedral church before the next ensuing feast of St. John the Baptist, and the said service be put in use within three weeks next after. And all other laws and ordinances, for any other common prayer or administration of the sacraments, were enacted to be utterly void and of none effect.

Thus the liturgy of the Church of Ireland for the future was identified, and placed upon the same footing of parliamentary authority, with that of the Church of England. The general piety, solemnity, and instructive and edifying nature of the prescribed service, and the absence of everything which could be justly thought exceptionable, either in substance or in form, seem to have prevented the injunction for its observance from being regarded as a grievance by the Papists on its first enactment. On the contrary, the bishops complied with this alteration in the publick worship: and the adherents of the Romish Church in Ireland resorted to the parish churches, where the English service was used, during a great part, if not the whole, of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

General compliance with this statute.

But all these enactments, and others in this statute not requiring our notice, were followed by one in conclusion, which is so remarkable, that it

Remarkable clause authorizing a Latin service.

may well deserve to be set before the reader at length. It will be observed to commence and to proceed in a form different from the usual form of enactment, in which all the other clauses are expressed: and thus affords a reasonable ground for the opinion intimated by Dr. Leland, that it was "inserted by the parliament after the first transmiss of the bill, and possibly was procured by those who had opposed it." The clause is as follows.

"And forasmuch as in most places of this realm, there cannot be found English ministers to serve in the churches, or places appointed for common prayer, or to minister the sacraments to the people; and that if some good mean were provided, that they might use the prayer, service, and administration of sacraments set out and established by this act, in such language as they mought best understand, the due honour of God should be thereby much advanced; and for that also, that the same may not be in their native language, as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters; we do, therefore, most humbly beseech your majesty, that with your highness's favour and royal assent it may be enacted, ordained, established, and provided, by the authority of this present parliament, that in every such church or place, where the common minister or priest hath not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, it shall be lawful for the same common minister or priest, to say and use the matens, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in the Latin tongue, in such form and order as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book established by this act, and according to the tenour of this act, and none otherwise, nor in other manner; anything before expressed and contained in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

The clause why objectionable.

As to this remarkable clause, "if," says Dr. Leland, "it did not effectually provide for the edifi-

⁴ *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 225, note.

cation of the people, it at least served to sheathe the acrimony of their prejudices against the reformed worship, by allowing it to be performed in the usual language of their devotions:" a benefit, dearly purchased by the sanction given to a practice, which was "plainly repugnant to the word of God, and to the custom of the primitive Church." Waiving, however, a consideration of the principle compromised by this enactment, and admitting the occasion of some substitute for the liturgy in the English tongue, certain questions immediately offer themselves to the mind, concerning the application and the utility of the proposed substitute. The obvious substitute would have been the same liturgy in the Irish tongue, in the native language of the people. But this "might not be, as well for the difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm could read Irish letters." Could not these difficulties then have been overcome by supplying the proper types for the printing, and by training persons to read the Irish character, if none were to be found actually qualified? Such a course was in fact adopted and with good success by a private clergyman, not many years after, so that it should seem to have been by no means impracticable at this time by those in power.

Compromise of principle.

Liturgy in Irish the obvious substitute.

But the substitute to be used was the liturgy "in the Latin tongue." In what way was the Latin version to be provided? Was it by publick authority? Of that there are no traces of information, nor does it appear at all probable. Was a translation then from English into Latin to be made by each individual minister? Was each minister then sufficiently conversant with English, to be able to translate *from* that tongue? If so, why could he not use it as prescribed in the English service?

No way of providing a Latin version.

Was such minister sufficiently conversant with Latin, to be able to translate *into* that tongue? Yet this is hardly consistent with the character of ignorance and illiteracy ascribed to very many of the clergy, so great that they were supposed not to understand their own mass-books.

Latin not intelligible.

But suppose the common prayer to be used in the Latin tongue, how could this be taken for "such language, as they mought best understand?" The people surely must have been left without any benefit from a service, to them as unintelligible as the Popish service which it was to supersede; the proposed provision, indeed, so far was calculated to "advance the due honour of God," as it shut out from his service idolatry, and superstition, and other unscriptural forms of worship; but the application of the provision to the benefit of the people is by no means easy to be discovered. That was a wiser and more wholesome provision, which was contained in one of King Edward the Sixth's instructions, that the liturgy in the Irish tongue should be used in places where it was needed; only care should have been taken to supply the need, by getting common prayer-books printed in that tongue, and finding or making ministers qualified to read them, if such could possibly have been done.

King Edward's instruction preferable.

Act for restitution of the first fruits. 2 Eliz., c. 3.

3. A third act, passed in this parliament, with relation to the Church, was that which enacted the restitution of the first fruits and twentieths of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown, reviving the statute of King Henry the Eighth to that effect, and repealing that by which it had been set aside in the reign of Queen Mary.

Act for conferring bishopricks. 2 Eliz., c. 4.

4. A fourth act recited the delay, costs, and charges attending the election of archbishops and

bishops by deans and chapters; represented that such elections were indeed no elections, but only by a writ of *congé d'élire* had pretence of elections, serving to no purpose, and seeming derogatory to the royal prerogative, to which only appertained the collation of all archbishopricks and bishopricks within the realm; and thereupon enacted, that no such election should be made, or *congé d'élire* granted; but that the queen and her successors by letters patent, or the governor of Ireland by warrant, should collate such persons as the queen or her successors shall think meet. Persons so collated are required to be consecrated and invested, without any other election, and without suing to any foreign power. And the penalty of premunire is enacted against those persons, who shall refuse to invest and consecrate within twenty days, or shall do any thing to the contrary of this act.

Bishops to be appointed by the crown without election.

With respect to this last-mentioned act, it has been observed by Cox^a, that in a case, relative to the appointment of a bishop, which came before the court in the reign of Queen Mary, it was adjudged, that the King of England may nominate and appoint bishops in Ireland without the formality of a *congé d'élire*; and this act of the second of Elizabeth is for so much in affirmation of the common law. Certainly this act was framed on the model of one that had been passed in England for the election of bishops in that kingdom, in the first year of King Edward the Sixth. King Edward's act, however, had been repealed, and the earlier act of the 25th of King Henry the Eighth, authorizing the dean and chapter to elect, had been revived and re-established by the English act of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, passed

This act in affirmance of the common law.

Different laws of England and Ireland in such cases.

the year before the enactment of this Irish statute, which nevertheless reverted to the rule of King Edward's law of appointment by royal collation, or donation, by the king's letters patent; and has since continued to be the law in Ireland, notwithstanding the contrary law and practice in England.

Different ecclesiastical changes in four successive reigns.

We may here make a short pause, to notice the several alterations, which had been introduced into ecclesiastical matters by the legal authorities, from the reign of King Henry the Eighth to the present.

1st. King Henry held the ecclesiastical supremacy, with the first fruits and twentieths of all benefices; at the same time, he maintained seven sacraments, with obits, and masses for the living and the dead.

Then, 2ndly, King Edward abolished the mass; authorized the Book of Common Prayer, and the consecration of the bread and wine, in the English tongue; and established only two sacraments.

3rdly. Queen Mary brought everything back again to a conformity with the Church of Rome, and to obedience to the Papal authority.

And now, 4thly, Queen Elizabeth again abolished the Pope's supremacy; reserved the twentieths and first fruits to herself and her successors; put down the mass; and for a general uniformity of worship in her dominions, as well in England as in Ireland, she established the Book of Common Prayer, and forbade the use of Popish ceremonies.

Perplexity of the Lord Deputy.

These alterations, so rapidly succeeding each other, occasioned much difference of opinion about ecclesiastical matters amongst the Nobility and Commons in Ireland; and the difficulty was aggravated by the invectives directed against the heretical queen

and her profane ministers by the Papal authorities; by the resistance opposed by the clergy to the renovation of the religion of the kingdom, and the restitution of it to its primitive form, in preference to the comparatively modern innovations of Popery; and by the reluctance of the partisans of Rome in general to comply with that purified system of Christian faith and practice, from which they had been so long and so far estranged. The perplexity of the case was perceived by the well-wishers of the Queen at the very beginning of the parliament; so that, after it had sat about a month, the Lord Deputy dissolved it, and went over to England for the purpose of consulting her majesty about the affairs of the kingdom. He returned again in the course of a few months: and soon after received her majesty's letters, signifying her pleasure for a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland, and the establishment of the Protestant religion through the several dioceses of the kingdom.

Parliament dissolved.

In the mean time, orders had been sent to Thomas Lockwood, dean of Christ Church, to remove from his church all Popish reliques and images; and to paint and whiten it anew; effacing from the walls all pictures, and other fanciful embellishments, and substituting sentences of Holy Scripture: orders which were soon after executed⁶. And about the same time, a large Bible, the gift, as it is related, of Doctor Heath, archbishop of York, to the two deans and chapters of Dublin, was placed in the middle of the choir of each cathedral of Christ's Church and St. Patrick's; where, on their being first offered to publick view, they caused a great resort of the people thither to read and hear their contents.

Removal of Popish images from churches.

Interest taken about the Bible.

⁶ MS. Lottus, Marsh's Library.

Small Bibles at that time, for private use, were far from common: but the hunger and thirst for them was great, when means were offered for its gratification; so that it appears from the account of John Dale, a bookseller, that in two years' time he sold seven thousand copies for the booksellers in London, when the book was first printed and brought over into Ireland, in the year 1559; a large number; when regard is had to the probable population of the country, and to the small proportion of those who were capable of reading⁷.

Irregularity relative to a recent Act of Parliament.

Mention has been already made of the law, enacted in King Edward's reign, and recently revived in Queen Elizabeth's, ordaining the appointment of bishops by royal collation or donation, in the form of letters patents. There was, however, at the outset, a want of decision in the government about carrying this act into effect, as may be collected from a remarkable example. The death of Primate Dowdall had nearly coincided with that of the late queen. Strype, in his *Annals of the Reformation*, quoting an anonymous authority, says that he was deprived by Queen Elizabeth⁸. But this is not correct. In 1558, he took a journey to London on the affairs of his Church, and died there on the 15th of August, being the day following the festival of the Virgin's Assumption in the Romish Church. This is recorded in his epitaph, which was registered by Thomas Walsh, principal registrar of the Court of Armagh, on the 27th of February following, and is transcribed into Harris's edition of WARE's *Bishops*⁹. On his decease, "Terence, dean of Armagh, was

Correction of a mis-statement concerning Archbishop Dowdall.

⁷ WARE's *Annals*.

⁸ STRYPE's *Annals*, vol. i. c. ii. p. 73, folio.

⁹ Pp. 92, 93.

appointed guardian of the spiritualties of the see; and on the 3rd of July, 1559, he held a synod of the English clergy of the diocese, in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda¹⁰." Thus, so far was Dowdall from being deprived of the archbishoprick of Armagh by Queen Elizabeth, that he was actually dead three months before her accession, although the vacancy had not been filled in the interval.

Nor was it filled till a considerable time after Queen Elizabeth's accession, though no cause for this is recorded, and a sufficient one would be difficult to be surmised. Now, however, when it had been determined by the government to supply it by the appointment of Adam Loftus to the see, the privy council were met by an unexpected difficulty; their statement of which, and of the remedy which they devised for it, is thus noticed in a letter from the queen, early in the winter of 1562.

Appointment of
Adam Loftus to
Armagh, 1562.

"Whereas by other your letters of the 2nd of September, ye declare, that by reason of the absence of sundry of the chapter of Ardماغh, the dean there cannot conveniently proceed to the election of Mr. Adam Loftlowse to that archbishoprick, according to the authority lately received from us, and for supply thereof do devise to make unto him in the mean season a commission for the ordering of ecclesiastical causes within that diocese; moving further, that the rents growing out of the possessions of that archbishoprick might be bestowed upon him by warrant from us, and the same be holden without account from the date of our letters of his nomination; we do very well allow your said devise."

Queen's letter to
the council.

And so the document goes on to give authority to the deputy and proper officers for making the grant in question,

"By warrant hereof, and so to continue, until he may

¹⁰ *Reg. Dowdal*, p. 218, cited in *STUART'S History of Armagh*, p. 246.

receive his establishment in the bishoprick by such ordinary means, as in semblable cases hath been accustomed."

Cause of the irregularity uncertain.

The cause of this deviation from a recently-ordained law, in favour of an ordinary, but now legally-abolished, custom, may be conjecturally traced to the weakness of the government, a compulsory compliance with inveterate prejudices, an instant forgetfulness of the act of abolition, or the absence of an intention to execute it strictly and generally": but it is not recorded. The consequence however was, as appears from a roll in Chancery, dated the 18th of November, 1562, the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, that the future primate obtained a grant of the revenues of the archbishoprick, and power to determine ecclesiastical causes in his diocese, several months before his consecration, which was not solemnized till the 2nd of March following, the temporalities being restored to him the next day.

Grant of the revenues of the archbishoprick to Loftus. November, 1562.

Previous incidents in the life of Adam Loftus.

Adam Loftus, or Lofthowse, as he is called in the foregoing document, was a native of Yorkshire, and the younger son of an ancient and wealthy family; and thence his advancement was forwarded by a more than ordinary allowance for his support and education. At a publick act at Cambridge he had thus the advantage of appearing at an early age under favourable circumstances before the queen, who was struck by the elegance of his oratory, and the subtilty of his skill in disputation, at the same time that she was gratified by the comeliness of his person, and his graceful address. She encouraged him to proceed diligently in his studies; graciously promised him early promotion; made him one of her own chaplains; and soon after sent him into Ireland, in quality of chaplain to Thomas, earl

¹¹ LELAND'S *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 227.

of Sussex, then lord lieutenant¹². Then followed his promotion, first, to the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and then to the archbishoprick of Armagh; in appointing him to which by her letters patent, the queen makes honourable mention of the primate-elect, and says that "his archbishoprick is a place of great charge, in name and title only to be esteemed, without any worldly endowment resulting from it¹³." She therefore permits him to hold the deanery of St. Patrick's, *in commendam*, until she should otherwise provide for him.

To his episcopal charge he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin the beginning of March, 1563, being then a bachelor of divinity; and, as reported in WARE'S *History of the Irish Bishops*, "in the twenty-eighth year of his age: the youngest archbishop that we meet with in this see, except Celsus." But the biographer does not mention any dispensation from both the ancient and modern law of the Church, which prescribes that any man, which is to be ordained or consecrated bishop, shall be full thirty years of age¹⁴: so that, finding the age of Archbishop Loftus at his death to be differently stated with an interval of two years between the dates, I am inclined to take the latter, which would fix his consecration at about the canonical age.

His consecration,
March, 1563.

Question con-
cerning his age.

And this opinion derives support from an entry in the old Grace Books of the University of Cambridge, whence it appears, that in November, 1567, when Archbishop Loftus was admitted to his degree of Doctor of Divinity, he had been engaged twenty years in the study of Theology. This was four years and eight months after he had been made archbishop,

¹² WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 94.

¹³ *Rot. Canc.* 6 and 7 Eliz.

¹⁴ GIBSON'S *Codex*, vol. i. p. 115.

in the twenty-eighth year of his age, according to the supposition. Thus, at the later period he must have been in his thirty-third year, and have commenced his theological studies in his thirteenth. This improbable result is favourable to the opinion on the side of a more advanced time of life: which opinion also tallies better with the statement in WARE's *History*, that at his death, the 5th of April, 1605, he was "worn out with old age;" for after his consecration he lived forty-two years, so that, if at that time he was only in his twenty-eighth year, at his death he was only in his seventieth.

Lines of apostolical succession in the episcopate of the Irish Church.

One of the lines of connexion by which the apostolical succession was continued and perpetuated in the Church of Ireland after the Reformation, was from Archbishop Browne, through Goodacre, archbishop of Armagh. Another unbroken series of episcopacy is traced for the Protestant Irish hierarchy through Archbishop Loftus; and that without any cavil or pretence of irregularity, such as might possibly be alleged in the former case, from the consecration having been solemnized by a ritual, which had not been authorized by the laws of Ireland¹⁵. From Curwin, the archbishop of Dublin recognised by the Papacy, and who had been consecrated in England according to the then legal forms of the Roman pontifical, in the third year of Queen Mary, Archbishop Loftus received his episcopal ordination and consecration; and, on his translation to the see of Dublin, he conveyed the same episcopal character to Launceston, his successor in the primacy; and by them the same was uninterruptedly transmitted through the several channels which have since distributed the blessings of an

¹⁵ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 94.

apostolical ministry through the Church of Ireland. Indeed, not a shadow of a doubt can be thrown on the apostolical succession in that Church. Even the Popish prelates, so long as any of them survived who were in their sees before the Reformation, were ready to assist at the consecration of Protestant bishops; so that the true episcopal character of the hierarchy of the Irish Church is unquestioned and unquestionable, and protected against all exception, even from the Papists themselves.

No room for question about the succession.

About this time, 1563, was established a form of declaration, which every archbishop and bishop was required to make on occasion of his consecration. With allowance for the change of name and place, the form was as follows¹⁰:

Form of declaration by bishops at their consecration.

“Ego, N. Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, &c.

“I, N., archbishop of Dublin, elect and consecrated, profess that I have and hold all the temporalities and possessions of the said bishoprick, from the hands of Elizabeth, queen of England, and so forth, and her successors, as in right of the crown of her kingdom of Ireland: to her, and to her successors, kings of England, I will be faithful. So help me God, and the holy Gospels.”

In the following year, 1564, the Lord Lieutenant set forth a proclamation against the meetings of the friars and Popish priests in Dublin; and ordered that none of them should lie within the gates of the city. A penalty also was imposed on every house-keeper who omitted coming to church on Sundays, so that many came to church rather than they would pay the tax, which was accurately collected. At first they went to mass in the morning, and to church in the afternoon; but afterwards, to prevent

Proclamation against Popish priests and friars.
1564.

¹⁰ WARE'S *Annals*, Eliz., p. 7.

that evasion, a roll of the house-keepers' names in every parish was called over by the church-wardens¹⁷.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy.
1565.

Declaration of Articles of Religion.
Jan. 20, 1566.

For maintaining unity of doctrine.

In 1565, the Earl of Sussex was succeeded in the chief government of Ireland by Sir Henry Sidney: and soon afterwards there occurred a very important provision for maintaining unity and sound doctrine in the Church, but one which, I apprehend, is not generally known. For, in the year 1566, was published, "A Brief Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion; set out by order and authority, as well of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the most noble Order, Lord President of the Council in the principality of Wales and Marches of the same, and General Deputy of this realm of Ireland, as by the Archbishops and Bishops, and other Her Majesty's High Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical in the same Realm. Imprinted at Dublin, by Humfrey Powel, the 20th of January, 1566."

It is intituled, *The Book of the Articles*; and on the page next to the title-page, which is given above, the same words are repeated, with the addition of these, annexed to the word "realm:" "For the unity of doctrine to be holden and taught of all parsons, vicars, and curates, as well in testification of their common consent and full agreement in the said doctrine, as also necessary for the instruction of their people in their several cures, to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates, at their possession-taking, or first entry into their cures, and also after that yearly at two several times by the year, that is to say, the Sundays next following

¹⁷ WARE'S *Annals*, Eliz., p. 3.

Easter-day and St. Michael the Archangel; and this upon pain of sequestration, deprivation, or other coercion, as shall be imposed upon such, as shall herein make default."

Then follows the declaration of assent to be made by each minister in the presence of his people.

Acknowledgment of assent.

"Forasmuch as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and pastors of the Church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith, when they shall be thereunto required: I, for my part, now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before me the fear of God and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same."

The Articles are twelve. The first asserts the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead.

Article I. The Godhead.

The second sets forth the sufficiency of the holy canonical Scriptures to salvation; and confesses all the Articles contained in the three Creeds.

II. Holy Scripture and Creeds.

The third is as follows: "I acknowledge, also, the Church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, clean to put away ceremonies and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification."

III. Authority of the Church.

The fourth Article confesses that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities according to the ordinances of this realm."

IV. Call to the ministry.

V. Queen's
supremacy.

The fifth Article acknowledges "the queen's majesty's prerogative and superiority of government, of all estates and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm."

VI. Denial of
the Bishop of
Rome's autho-
rity.

And the sixth denies "the authority of the Bishop of Rome to be more than other bishops have in their provinces and dioceses."

VII. Book of
Common Prayer.

The seventh confesses the Book of Common Prayer to be "agreeable to the Scriptures, and Catholick, Apostolick, and most for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people, both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of ministration contained in the same."

VIII. Ministration
of Baptism.

The eighth asserts the perfect ministration of Baptism, although there is in it "neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used; and for that they were of late years abused, they be reasonably abolished."

IX. The mass.

The ninth condemns "private masses," or a "publick ministration and receiving of the Sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants:" also it condemns the doctrine of "the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory."

X. Communion
in both kinds.

The tenth affirms, that the "Holy Communion ought to be ministered to the people under both kinds."

XI. Images, re-
liques, and
feigned miracles.

The eleventh "utterly disallows the extolling of images, relicks, and feigned miracles; and also all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, and all other vain worshipping of God devised by man's fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures:

as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such like superstition:" and "exhorts all men to the obedience of God's law and to the works of faith."

The twelfth Article is a general acknowledgment of the preceding. "These things, above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most mature persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we, all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all glory and empire, now and for ever. Amen."

XII. General acknowledgment of the preceding.

This declaration appears to be the same as one, of which a summary is given by Strype, in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, and which was put out in England in the year 1561, under the general name of the *Metropolitans and Bishops*, but seeming to have been chiefly the work of the archbishop¹⁰.

Declaration agreeable to one in England.

¹⁰ STRYPE'S *Life of Abp. Parker*, vol. i. pp. 182, 183.

SECTION II.

Two Bishops deprived for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. Conformity of the others. Abuse of Episcopal Property. Depreciation of Bishopricks. Exercise of the Royal Prerogative in appointing Bishops. Titular Bishops. Act of Parliament caused by clerical irregularities. General immorality and irreligion. Act for erecting Free Schools. Opposition to attempts at propagating the Reformed Religion. Irish Liturgy and Catechism. Irish New Testament. Bull of the Pope, and its consequences.

Two Popish
bishops deprived
of their sees.

THE enactments concerning the Church in Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament had no unpleasant effect upon its governors; save that by the Act of Supremacy, or rather by their own obnoxious conduct in defiance of it, two bishops were deprived of their sees: Leverous, bishop of Kildare, who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy; and Walsh, bishop of Meath, who not only refused to take the oath, but preached also against the queen's supremacy, and against the Book of Common Prayer.

Supply of the
vacancies.

Their places were supplied respectively, by Alexander Craike in the see of Kildare, and Hugh Brady in that of Meath. The former, who had been previously in possession of the deanery of St. Patrick's, was permitted to retain that preferment *in commendam*; but this did not prevent him from alienating the property of the bishoprick much to the injury of his successors¹. To the worth of Bishop Brady testimony was borne by the queen, in a letter of October 6, 1564, to Sir Nicholas Arnold, lord justice, and the rest of the commissioners for causes ecclesiastical. "Which commission we send at this

¹ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 391.

present by the reverend father in God, the Bishop of Meath, with whom we have had such conference, as well in the matters contained in that commission, as in sundry other belonging to the weal of that our realm, as we see very good reason to allow of our former choice of him; and do certainly hope, that he shall prove a faithful minister in his charge concerning his pastoral office, and a profitable councillor of our estate there²."

The penalties upon the two displaced prelates varied according to their offences. The former, being deprived of his bishoprick, was left at liberty; and for some time enjoyed the hospitable protection of the Earl and Countess of Desmond, and then earned his livelihood by keeping a school at Lime-
rick, and in its neighbourhood: the latter, after his deprivation, was thrown into prison, and some years later was sent into banishment, and died at Alcala in Spain, January 3, 1577, and was there buried in the church of a Cistercian monastery, of which order he was a monk³.

Penalties inflicted on the Popish bishops.

In a book entitled *De Processu Martyriali*, &c., printed at Cologne, in 1640, and quoted in MASON'S *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*⁴, of which Bishop Leverous was dean, his reason for non-compliance with the demand of acknowledging the queen's supremacy is thus recorded. The Lord Deputy required to know the cause of his refusal to take an oath, already taken by many learned and illustrious men. To whom he made answer, that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was derived from Christ: and, since he thought not fit to confer ecclesiastical authority on the Blessed Virgin, his mother, it could not be believed that supremacy, or primacy of eccle-

Bishop Leverous's reasons for non-compliance.

² Rolls.

³ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 153.

⁴ P. 163.

siastical power, was meant to be delegated by Christ to any other person of that sex. He added likewise, that St. Paul commanded no woman should speak in the church, much less should one preside and rule there: to confirm this opinion, he adduced authorities from St. Chrysostom and Tertullian. The Deputy then represented to him, that, if he should refuse to comply, he must of necessity be deprived of all his revenues: he quoted in answer the text of Scripture, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" An answer which entitles him to respect for integrity in acting up to his conviction, however weak and fallacious may be judged the grounds on which his conviction rested.

Only two deprived bishops.

Whilst we lament that the political offences of these two prelates subjected them to such visitations, we cannot but call to mind that they had in the preceding reign assisted in depriving other bishops of their sees, and other clergymen of their livings, and in particular, each his predecessor of his bishoprick, for the unpardonable offence of being a married man. These are the only two Irish prelates who appear to have been deprived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the anonymous work indeed, noticed above, as cited in STRYPE'S *Ecclesiastical Annals*, mention is made of "an uncertain number of other bishops there" being deprived, besides the Archbishop of Armagh. But, as the Archbishop of Armagh was certainly not deprived, for from the death of Goodacre the see was vacant for some years, except the time that Dowdall filled it, during the reign of Queen Mary⁵, and he, as we have already seen, died before the accession of Queen Elizabeth; so there is neither record, nor rational ground of

⁵ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 94.

suspicion, of the deprivation of any others, except the two, whose deprivation is matter of historical notoriety. Had any others been deprived, the fact must have been known and recorded, and can hardly have escaped the notice of the ecclesiastical historians of the time. Indeed, upon an inspection of the condition of the different sees about this time, it is evident that in about twenty no change of occupants occurred: and whatever obscurity may attach to the occupancy of the remainder, being, as they are, those of the least note and importance, there is not the faintest probability thence given to the hypothesis in any case, that either of the bishops underwent a deprivation.

The simple fact may be thus stated, without fear of reasonable contradiction: that whilst many of the temporal lords retained their attachment to the religious principles in which they had been educated, and transmitted the same to their descendants, all, with two only exceptions, of the spiritual peers, who had been formerly friends of the Papacy, either saw cause to approve of the recent alterations, or, perceiving no disposition in the government to treat them with rigour, contentedly acquiesced in the existing order of things, whilst not a few of them took advantage of the uncontrolled power which they possessed over the property of their sees, for enriching their kindred, and impoverishing the church and their successors.

Difference between the temporal and spiritual peers.

The abuse of episcopal property was so injurious, and of such extent, that when Sir Henry Sidney was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in October, 1565, amongst other instructions he brought with him this, "That the Church lands and estates be preserved

Lord Deputy's Instructions about ecclesiastical property.
Oct., 1565.

from waste and alienation⁶." Whatever means of preservation may in consequence have been used, they failed of producing the desired effect: for at times subsequent, as well as antecedent, to this instruction several cases are on record, some of which may be cited as examples of the enormity.

Impoverishment
of Ossory,

Between the years 1553 and 1565, Thonory, bishop of Ossory, made many fee-farm leases of the manors and possessions of his bishoprick at low and inconsiderable rents, which greatly impoverished the see, and lopped off from the bishoprick large branches of its revenue⁷.

Kildare,

Between 1560 and 1564, Craike, bishop of Kildare, exchanged almost all the manors and lands of the bishoprick, for some tythes of little value, by which exchange the very ancient See of Kildare was reduced to a most shameful poverty; and in the short time of three years he did more mischief to his see, than his successors were ever able to repair⁸.

Ferns,

About 1582, Allen, bishop of Ferns, made long leases of many farms, reserving very small rents, and committed many wastes on the lands of the see⁹; and about the same period,

Leighlin,

Cavenagh, bishop of Leighlin, treated the property of his bishoprick in the like manner, leaving it in such a naked condition as to be scarce worth any person's acceptance: so that the poverty of the see caused it, first to be held with some other preferment, and then to be united to the see of Ferns¹⁰.

Cashel,

Archbishop Magragh, who succeeded to the see of Cashel in 1570, made most scandalous wastes and alienations of the revenues belonging to it; and impoverished it by stripping it of much of its ancient estate¹¹. And Linch, who obtained the bishoprick

⁶ Cox, i. 319.

⁷ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 413.

⁸ *Ib.*, 391.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 446.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 462.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 484.

of Elphin in 1584, so wasted and destroyed it by alienations, fee-farms, and other means, that he left it not worth two hundred marks a year¹². These examples are bad enough: but they are outdone by certain cases of the original "temporisers," as he terms them, cited by Primate Bramhall, who particularizes one see as left by its possessor so impoverished, that it had but forty shillings of yearly revenue, and another but five marks¹³.

The value of several other bishopricks was at the same time much reduced from other causes, of which the unsettled and lawless condition of the kingdom was apparently amongst the chief; and the consequence, as in cases of the former description, was the evil of pluralities to a very pernicious extent.

Thus, in 1567, Archbishop Loftus procured his translation from Armagh to Dublin; whereupon Harris, in his edition of WARE'S *History of the Bishops*, remarks, that "it is not to be admired at, that he sought a translation from the primatial see; for the North was then ruined by the rebellion of Shane O'Neal, and Armagh, which with its cathedral had been utterly destroyed, afforded but little profit¹⁴."

It should, however, be remarked, that this is not agreeable to the reason, said to have been assigned by the archbishop himself: for it is related in the LOFTUS MS. in Marsh's Library, that "at first there were many who wondered at the archbishop, why he should resign his archbishoprick of Armagh, for to be translated to Dublin, considering that the primacy of Armagh was not only a higher title, but also had a greater revenue and income belonging to it. So

Elphin.

Bishopricks reduced from other causes.

Armagh.

Cause of Archbishop Loftus's translation questionable.

¹² WARE, p. 634.¹³ *Life of Abp. Bramhall*, by Abp. VESEY.¹⁴ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 95.

Adam Loftus made answer, he would rather have less honour and less revenue in quietness, than to be in danger, and to live within his diocese so far from the metropolis of Ireland, and to hazard himself especially in those times."

Curious anecdote
relative to Arch-
bishop Curwin.

There is also a curious fact, noticed by Strype in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, which does not appear to have been altogether explained. Under the date of 1561, he observes, that "he meets with a letter, without date of year, but he supposes near about this time, writ from Adam, archbishop of Armagh, to our Archbishop of Canterbury, dated from Trinity College, Cambridge, Sept. 27. Wherein the Irish archbishop, now not long entered upon his functions, hinted how the Archbishop of Canterbury had promised him his aid in all Church causes of Ireland, at his last being in England; especially for removing the Bishop of Dublin. He was, as he described him, a *known enemy*, and laboured under open crimes: which although he shamed not to do, I am, said that archbishop, almost ashamed to speak. So he desired him, now being in England again, to put to his helping hand, and to recommend some zealous man to succeed in that bishop's place: and that he, the Archbishop of Canterbury, would write to the court of this matter¹⁵."

From the foregoing description, it should seem that Archbishop Curwin's character suffered under some heavy moral imputations, as we have already seen his unsteadiness as to religion. It was not, however, until six years after the supposed date of this letter, that he vacated his see: when "being now grown old, he desired to return and die in his own country¹⁶," and procured a translation to Oxford,

¹⁵ STRYPE'S *Life of Abp. Parker*, v. i. p. 221. ¹⁶ STRYPE, p. 503.

in the grant of which it is observable that no mention was made of his having been Archbishop of Dublin¹⁷. Then it was that Archbishop Loftus, who had before recommended a different successor, was translated from the primacy, on account, as is generally supposed, of the scantiness of its revenues, caused by the outrages of the rebels in the North.

Archbishop
Curwin trans-
lated to Oxford.
1567.

For causes, not specified, the archbishoprick of Dublin also was in such a state, that in 1572, "Queen Elizabeth, on account of the poverty of the see, granted him a dispensation, to hold any compatible sinecure with his archbishoprick, not exceeding one hundred pounds a-year in value¹⁸." On account of the poverty of the See of Armagh, Thomas Lancaster, who succeeded to the primacy, on which occasion he preached his own consecration sermon¹⁹, had a licence, a few days after his consecration, to hold *in commendam* several benefices, both in England and Ireland, which at the time of his advancement he possessed, and to retain them during such time as he should continue primate; but under a proviso, that the said churches should not be defrauded of their usual service, but be supplied with a provision of vicars and curates²⁰. The See of Meath was so poor, when Bishop Brady was preferred to it, that in the year following his promotion, the queen sent special letters to the government, ordering them to allow him five years' respite for the payment of his first fruits²¹. But in 1568, and during the remainder of his life, he enjoyed the profits of the See of Clonmacnoise, which was at that time, by Act of Parliament, united to Meath, as by

Reduced value
of Dublin.

Armagh.

Meath.

Union of Bishop-
ricks.

¹⁷ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 353.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 353.

¹⁹ MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 170.

²⁰ WARE, p. 95.

²¹ *Ib.*, p. 156.

Clogher.

Ardfert and
Aghadoc.

the same act Emly was united to Cashel²². In 1570, Bishop Magrath is related to have received little or nothing out of the See of Clogher, by reason of the long wars in those parts; and, after his translation, the rebellions, which prevailed there, occasioned the bishoprick to remain vacant for many years, during the whole of the remainder of Queen Elizabeth's reign²³. And in 1600, John Crosby was nominated to the united Sees of Ardfert and Aghadoc, described in the official document as the bishoprick of Kerry, from the county, or, in old times, the kingdom, in which they were situated. He is there mentioned to be "a graduate in schools of English race, and yet skilled in the Irish tongue: well disposed in religion, and who hath already some other means of living to enable him to bear the countenance of such a promotion, which the place hath need of. Because the temporalities of that see, by reason of these rebellions, are wasted and yield little profit, we have thought no other better than he²⁴."

Queen appointed
to all bishop-
ricks;With rare excep-
tions.

With reference to what has been just said concerning the vacancy of the see of Clogher, the remark may be added, that in all ordinary cases the queen continually exercised her prerogative of appointing bishops by her letters patent to the vacant sees, except in the instance of Kilmore, which had been usurped by a Popish intruder until 1585, and then, after an incumbency of four years by the queen's nominee, from the confusion of the times continued without a bishop for the last fourteen years of her reign: and except also in the instances of the two northern bishopricks of Raphoe and Derry, to which she made no collation, unless in the year 1595, when her reign was drawing towards its close.

²² WARE, p. 493.²³ *Ib.*, p. 183.²⁴ Rolls, 42 Eliz.

In other cases she made regular donation of the sees, as they respectively became void. And in so doing she seems to have followed the rule, for the most part, of placing Englishmen in those sees, the occupiers of which were brought into more immediate communication with the government, and occasionally in others, where their services appeared likely to be useful; but allowing, at the same time, a general preponderance to the natural claims of the Irish clergy. Thus of the five appointments which she made to the primacy, four were given to Englishmen, one of whom also, Adam Loftus, filled the only vacancy which occurred during her reign in the archbishoprick of Dublin. But two appointments to each of the other archbishopricks of Cashel and Tuam were bestowed on Irishmen. To speak summarily: out of about fifty-two nominations to Irish bishopricks, made by Queen Elizabeth, sixteen were of persons from the other side of the channel, including one Welshman in the number; twenty-eight were natives of Ireland, of whom twenty-four were of originally Irish families; the remaining eight are doubtful, at least I have not ascertained them. These were the legitimate prelates of the Church of Ireland; and of these the genuine successors, both by law and by due course of episcopal descent, are the prelates who now constitute the Irish hierarchy in the United Church of England and Ireland.

Apparent rule of distribution.

The legitimate Irish episcopate.

It is true that there existed in the kingdom other intrusive missionaries, sent by the Bishop of Rome as opponents of the sovereign, the laws, and the Church of the kingdom, and arrogating for themselves the jurisdiction, and calling themselves by the usurped titles, of the rightful and duly-recognised

Intrusive missionaries from Rome.

Titular bishops.

prelates. Thus, in the course of history, we read in 1567, of a titular Archbishop of Cashel, who, because the true archbishop would not surrender to him the administration of his province, wounded him with a skein or Irish dagger, and made his escape for safety into Spain²⁵. We read in 1568 of the titular Bishops of Cashel and Emly being sent by certain confederated rebels, as their ambassadors to the Pope and the King of Spain, to implore aid and assistance for rescuing their religion and country from the tyranny and oppression of Queen Elizabeth²⁶. We read in 1593 of the titular Primate of Armagh, importuning a proclaimed traitor to invade Connaught, with the intention of preying upon that country; of his forces being routed in battle; and himself with many of them being slain²⁷. We read in 1599, of the titular Archbishop of Dublin coming to another rebel and traitor, who had publickly and haughtily professed that he would recover the liberty of religion and his country, and bringing to him Papal indulgences for all that would take arms against the English, and a phoenix plume to O'Neal and 22,000 pieces of gold for distribution from the King of Spain²⁸. But these, as they derived their ecclesiastical character from a foreign prelate, so were they dissentients and separatists from the Church of Ireland; and such has ever been the proper character of their successors.

Abuse of episcopal patronage.

The bishops of Ireland have, for the most part, the patronage of the dignities in their respective cathedrals; and this patronage had been abused by several of those who occupied the southern and

²⁵ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 483. ²⁶ Cox, i. 333. ²⁷ *Id.*, i. 403.

²⁸ Cox, i. 422.

western sees at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in a manner very injurious to God's honour, and to the moral condition of the people. This is said on the authority of the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, who in the year 1568, made a progress into Munster and Connaught, nearly answering to the ecclesiastical provinces of Cashel and Tuam; and there "found among other experiences," what he stated as the preamble of an Act of Parliament the following year, "the great abuse of the clergy there, in admitting of unworthy personages to ecclesiastical dignities; which had neither lawfulness of birth, learning, English habit, nor English language; but descended of unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, chantors, and such like; getting into the said dignities, either with force, simony, friendship, or other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God's holy Church, and the evil ensample of all honest congregations." The remedy proposed for this evil was the enactment, which was accordingly made, "that no person or persons be from henceforth admitted or received to be dean, chantor, chancellor, treasurer, or archdeacon of any cathedral church within Munster and Connaught, the cathedral churches of Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and Cashel only excepted, but only by the presentation and nomination of the Lord Deputy, or other governor of this realm for the time being, during the time and space of ten years next ensuing."

1568.

Act of Parliament for its correction,
11 Eliz. c. 6.

The act also provided, "that no person or persons so to be nominated and presented to any of the dignities aforesaid, shall be able to take any of the said dignities, except he or they be within orders, of full age, can read and speak the English tongue, and shall reside upon the same dignities." The

Benefices held by
laymen and
non-residents.

abuses, noticed in the last provision, of ecclesiastical benefices, being holden by laymen and by non-residents, appear to be of no uncommon occurrence at this period. It was in the year 1568, that the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was possessed by Robert Weston, a civilian, who had succeeded Archbishop Curwin in the chancellorship of Ireland, but not an ecclesiastick, having received the Archbishop of Canterbury's dispensation from taking holy orders. This dispensation he pleaded at a visitation of the new Archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, in the cathedral, this same year, July the 12th. The same plea was alleged in vindication of himself from the like charge, as well as for non-residence, by one of the prebendaries. Against three others, who were charged with non-residence, and who appear not to have had the same subterfuge, sentence of deprivation was proclaimed²⁹.

General immorality and irreligion.
1565.

The kingdom in general was at this time overwhelmed by the most deplorable immorality and irreligion. On his arrival in Ireland about two years before, the Lord Deputy had consulted with the privy council on the condition of the country, and this was the appalling result of their investigations.

Report of the privy council.

"The pale was overrun with thieves and robbers; the countryman so poor, that he hath neither horse, arms, nor victuals for himself; and the soldiers so beggarly, that they could not live without oppressing the subject; for want of discipline they were grown insolent, loose, and idle; and, which rendered them suspected to the state, they were allied by marriage to the Irish, and intimate with them in conversation.

"Leinster was harassed by the Tooles, Birns, Kinshe-

²⁹ MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 170.

lachs, O'Morroghs, Cavenaghs, and O'Moors; but especially the county of Kilkenny was almost desolate.

"Munster, by the dissensions between the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, was almost ruined, especially Tipperary and Kerry; the barony of Ormond was overrun by Pierce Grace; and Thomond was as bad as the rest by the wars between Sir Daniel O'Brian and the Earl of Thomond.

"Connaught was almost wasted by the feuds between the Earl of Clanrickard, and M'William Outer, and other lesser contests.

"And Ulster, which for some time had been the receptacle and magazine of all the preys and plunder gotten out of the other provinces, and so was richer than the rest, was in open rebellion under Shane O'Neal.

"As for religion, there was but small appearance of it; the churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered, and scarce the being of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people³⁰." Small appearance of religion.

To meet this formidable array of evils, the Lord Deputy and council took such measures as they judged best, and which in general it does not fall within our present province to notice. But with respect to our more immediate subject, amongst the instructions which the Lord Deputy had brought with him from the queen, there was one which enjoined, "That religion and knowledge of the Scriptures should be propagated and encouraged by doctrine, example, &c." Possibly the statute which 11 Eliz., c. 6. has been already mentioned as enacted in the parliament next following these instructions, relative to the providing of fit persons, duly qualified by their birth and attainments, for ecclesiastical dignities in Munster and Connaught, may have arisen out of this instruction: it is highly probable that this was the foundation of the act, passed in an adjourned

³⁰ Cox, i. 319.

session of the same parliament, for the erection of free schools throughout the kingdom.

Act for free
schools, 12 Eliz.
c. 1.

1570.

Preamble setting
forth the people's
rudeness and
gross ignorance.

Enactment for
erecting dio-
cesan schools.

The preamble, which is an important document in exposition of the extreme ignorance of the people for want of good school discipline, plainly, strongly, and briefly sets forth the occasion of the act to be, "Forasmuch as the greatest number of this your majesty's realm hath of long time lived in rude and barbarous states, not understanding that Almighty God hath by his divine laws forbidden the manifold and heinous offences, which they spare not daily and hourly to commit and perpetrate, nor that he hath by his holy Scriptures commanded a due and humble obedience from the people to their princes and rulers; whose ignorance in these so high points touching their damnation proceedeth only of lack of good bringing up of the youth of this realm, either in publick or private schools, where through good discipline they might be taught to avoid these loathsome and horrible errors." And then ensues the enactment, in substance to this effect, that there be henceforth a free school within every diocese of Ireland; that the schoolmaster shall be an Englishman, or of the English birth of this realm; that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, shall have the nomination of the schoolmasters, each in his own diocese, for ever; that the Lord Deputy shall have the nomination in every other diocese; that the school-house shall be erected in the principal shire-town of the diocese, where school-houses are not already built; and that the Lord Deputy and council shall appoint a convenient yearly salary, of which one-third part shall be borne by the ordinary, and the other two by the clergy of the diocese. It is also enacted that all

ecclesiastical livings that have come by any title to the queen, or any of her progenitors, shall be charged to this payment, in whose ever possession the same are or shall come.

It seems to have been the policy of the English government to civilize the Irish by means of the English language, and thus to improve their religious and moral character; or rather to take such measures, as might at the same time produce their civil improvement, and instruct them in a knowledge and practice of the Gospel. As instruments well suited for producing this general improvement among their countrymen, regard appears to have been had to the native youth, who, being by the circumstances of their birth acquainted with the Irish language, should be trained in a knowledge of the English, and at the same time in the sound religious principles and practices of the Church; that thus in due course they might become efficient in disseminating true religion, and social and moral cultivation over the country, through the medium of either the Irish or the English tongue, as occasions might require, and in a way exempt from all offence on the score of national antipathies. Such an object was highly commendable in the government; and to the attainment of it the erection of the diocesan free-schools appears calculated to have been conducive.

Policy of the government for improvement of the country.

Religious education of the native youth.

Another measure for the religious improvement of the country was proposed to be enacted in this parliament, but from some unassigned cause failed of success. In pursuance of the statute of the 10th of Henry the Seventh, chap. 4, commonly called Poyning's Act, it was necessary that before the meeting of any parliament the acts intended to be proposed should be certified to the king under the

Proposed act for repair of churches.

great seal of Ireland, and affirmed by the king and council as good and expedient for that land, under the great seal of England. Among the bills proposed to be enacted in the present parliament, together with that for the erection of free schools, was another for the reparation of parochial churches. The parliament was opened on the 17th day of January, 1569; it was not, however, until its fifth session, on the 26th of May, 1570, that the former of these bills became a law: the latter was never passed³¹. The postponement in the one case, and still more the want of success in the latter, fair and reasonable as its purpose appears, may perhaps be not improperly taken as a proof of a powerful opposition, prepared to counteract or resist every scheme of the government for propagating the reformed religion.

Its failure.

Effort for religious improvement by individuals.

Walsh, bishop of Ossory.

Connected in its objects with these measures of the government, and nearly contemporaneous with them, was an effort made by some zealous individuals, not however without the encouragement and aid of the ruling powers, for the spiritual edification of the people, and the extension of the Irish Church. The principal of these was Nicholas Walsh, who, about six years after, in 1577, was promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory. A previous occurrence of the surname in this narrative seems to call for the explanatory remark, that he was the son, not of that Bishop Walsh, who, by virtue of Queen Mary's commission, had been one of the agents in removing his predecessor, Bishop Staples, from the See of Meath, and had afterwards incurred the same sentence himself in Queen Elizabeth's reign, for preaching against the

³¹ LELAND'S *Hist.*, vol. ii p. 245.

queen's supremacy, and the newly-established Book of Common Prayer; but he was the son of another His parentage. bishop of the same name, who presided over the united Sees of Waterford and Lismore, by mandate from King Edward the Sixth, and is recorded to have been a man of great repute for his learning and religion. These qualities appear to have been transmitted to the son, who, having been educated at Cambridge, and having afterwards possessed the dignity of Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in the beginning of February, 1577. Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, had first recommended for the vacant see, Davy Clure, M.A. of Oxford, a man of learning and commendable conversation, a divine, but not a civilian. This, however, not being approved of, he recommended Mr. Walsh, a godly and well-learned preacher³².

I mention these particulars in relation to a Irish Book of Common Prayer and Catechism. prelate, perhaps not so well known amongst the worthies of the Church of Ireland, as his character and good deeds deserve, for a mark of distinction honourable to one, who in 1571, the period with 1571. which our narrative is now conversant, whilst he was Chancellor of St. Patrick's, together with John John Kerney. Kerney, treasurer of that church, the beloved companion of his studies, was the first who introduced the Irish types for printing into that kingdom; and obtained from the government an order, that the prayers of the Church should be printed in that character and language; and a church set apart in the shire-town of every diocese, where they should be read, and a sermon preached to the common people: a provision, which proved to be an instru-

³² *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 127, 153.

ment of conversion to the purified faith of the Gospel in many of the previously uninstructed and ignorant Papists, who were thus withdrawn from the modern inventions of Popery, and trained in the profession of the ancient and Catholick Church³³.

Irish New Testa-
ment.

Archbishops
Donellan and
Daniel.

Nor did the efforts of Bishop Walsh stop here. But desirous of leading his countrymen to the pure well-head of truth, as contained in Holy Scripture, and of showing them the harmony which subsists between the true word of God and the creed and worship of the Church; with the assistance of his friend, John Kerney, and of Nehemiah Donellan, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, he commenced a translation of the New Testament from Greek into Irish; a work, which was greatly approved of by Queen Elizabeth, and eventually printed in 1603, and dedicated to King James, on its completion by William Daniel, the successor of Donellan in the archiepiscopal see³⁴. For the labours of Bishop Walsh had been prematurely interrupted by the execrable act of a profligate wretch, who, whether in revenge at being cited by the bishop into his court, for the crime of adultery, or being prompted to the villany as a means of preventing the bishop from carrying on the proceedings which he had commenced for recovering the rights of his see, surprised him in his house, and stabbed him with a skein or dagger. The bishop died of the wound, and was buried in his Cathedral Church of Kilkenny, where a monument was erected to his memory with a Latin inscription, mentioning the date of his death, December 14, 1585, but not specifying the cause. The simplicity and brevity of the inscription preclude also a notice

Murder of
Bishop Walsh.

December, 1585.

³³ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 418.

³⁴ WARE's *Writers of Ireland*, pp. 97, 107.

of the valuable undertaking, which is the fairest monument to his memory.

On recurring, however, to the point, whence we have somewhat digressed, it may be remarked, that whatever exertions were made by the government or under its patronage, they were continually encountered by corresponding energy in the Popish party. And especially at this time a countervailing force was kept in active operation by a confederacy of some of the more licentious of the Irish lords, who were no less diligent in spreading abroad disorder and confusion. Religion was the pretended cloak for their rebellion: in pursuance of which they sent the titular Bishops of Cashel and Emly, and the younger brother of the Earl of Desmond, as their ambassadors, to solicit assistance from the Pope and the King of Spain, to rescue their Church and country from the tyranny and oppression of Queen Elizabeth³⁵. Shortly after, in March, 1570, Pope Pius the Fifth fulminated his bull of excommunication against the queen; and, as is remarked by a Popish historian of Ireland, Sullivan, as quoted by Cox³⁶, “deservedly deprived her of her kingdom;” from which deprivation followed, during the remainder of her reign, the natural consequence, that bigotry and rebellion went together hand in hand, and were bound in an indissoluble league for disturbing the government of the heretical sovereign, and overthrowing the English laws and the Protestant religion, which were to the disaffected alike objects of their supreme hatred and abhorrence.

Counteraction of
Popish party.

Religion pre-
tence for rebel-
lion.

Bull of Pope
Pius V,
March, 1570.

It was not until 1571, fifteen years after his

³⁵ Cox, i. 333.

³⁶ *Ib.*, p. 337.

Restoration of
one of the Pro-
testant bishops.
1571.

Question why
the others were
not restored.

A coadjutor
bishop.

Scheme of a Pro-
testant planta-
tion in the Ards.
1572.

deprivation by Queen Mary's commissioners, and on his successor's resignation of the bishoprick from some cause which is not related, that Bishop Casey was reinstated in his see of Limerick³⁷, being the only one of the deprived prelates who was restored: for Thomas Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, who bore the same names, and has sometimes been identified, with him who succeeded Archbishop Loftus in the primacy³⁸, was, in fact, a different person; and neither he, nor any of his fellow-sufferers, was again placed in the episcopal office. Why neither of these, who had incurred the penalty of their confession of the reformed faith, was restored to his dignity on Queen Elizabeth's accession; or why Bishop Casey was not restored till after the lapse of so long a period of deprivation, has not been fully explained. Bishop Bale is supposed not to have desired restoration; and possibly the others were dead before the opportunity had arrived for restoring them. But, in effect, this conduct of the government rather wears the appearance of lenity and forbearance towards the advocates of Popery, than of a just and equitable consideration for the martyrs of the Reformed Church. Bishop Casey survived his restoration twenty years, having lived to a good old age; and is a rather uncommon instance of a Protestant bishop having his spiritual functions performed by a coadjutor, on account of his great age and infirm health, which rendered him unequal to the discharge of his official duties.

In 1572, a scheme was formed by Sir Thomas Smith for making a Protestant plantation in the Ards, a peninsular district of the county of Down, under the conduct of his natural son, who was like-

³⁷ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 510.

³⁸ WOOD's *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 175.

wise a Thomas Smith, assisted by a person of the name of Chatterton: but in consequence of the murder of the leader of the colony, the design proved unsuccessful. In the following year, Hugh Allen, one of the colonists, who had been "much commended to the queen as a good preacher and a zealous man," was promoted to the bishoprick of Down and Connor, on the vacancy made by the death of John Merriman, the first Protestant bishop who occupied that see, to which he had been appointed four years before³⁹. The vacancy of the see for more than two years, on Allen's translation to Ferns, in 1582, is a neglect on the part of the government, rather to be lamented than explained.

SECTION III.

Sir Henry Sidney's Letter to the Queen. Her commission for the supply of Churches and Curates. Instances of Popish Insubordination. Sir John Perrot's Instructions concerning the Church. Appointment of a Bishop for Kilmore. Failure of Plan for an University. Act against Witchcraft. Foundation of University of Dublin.

IN the autumn of the year 1575, the excellent Sir Henry Sidney, who had five times before been at the head of the Irish government, was again intrusted with the office of Lord Deputy. His thoughts and his labour were at once bestowed on the improvement of the kingdom: and the result of his investigations, respecting the deplorable condition of the church, was made known to the queen in the following letter, written in the ensuing spring.

Sir Henry
Sidney, Lord
Deputy.
1575.

³⁹ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 446. COX, i. 341.

His letter to the
queen.

“ May it please your most excellent Majesty,

“ I have in four several discourses, addressed unto the lords of your highness’s most honourable council, certified them how I found this your highness’s realm at mine arrival into the same; and what I have seen and understand by my travel these six last months, in which I have passed through each province, and have been almost in each county thereof: the which I would not send to your most excellent majesty, immediately to be read by the same, lest they should have seemed too tedious, partly through the quantity of the matter, but chiefly through the bad delivery thereof by my pen: not doubting but your majesty is, by this time, advertised of the material points contained in them.

Lamentable state
of the church.

“ And now, most dear mistress and most honoured sovereign, I solely address to you, as to the only sovereign salve-giver to this your sore and sick realm. The lamentable estate of the most noble and principal limb thereof, the church I mean, as foul, deformed, and as cruelly crushed, as any other part thereof, by your only gracious and religious order to be cured, or at least amended, I would not have believed, had I not for a great part viewed the same throughout the whole realm; and was advertised of the particular estate of each church in the bishoprick of Meath, being the best inhabited country of all this realm, by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Brady, a godly minister of the Gospel, and a good servant of your highness, who went from church to church himself, and found that there are within his diocese two hundred and twenty-four parish churches, of which number one hundred and five are impropriated to sundry possessions, now of your highness, and now leased out for years, or in fee-farm, to several farmers, and great gain reaped out of them above the rent, which your majesty receiveth: no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate for the most part appointed to serve them; among which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English, the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning or civility.

Diocese of
Meath.

Destitution of
curates.

“All these live upon the bare altarages” (emoluments arising from the services of the altar) “as they call them; and were wont to live upon the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings, and such like trumpery, goodly abolished by your majesty: no one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the churches down: very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined or spoiled. There are fifty-two other parish-churches in the same diocese, who have vicars endowed upon them, better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are fifty-two parish-churches more, residue of the first number of two hundred and twenty-four, which pertain to divers particular lords; and these, though in better estate than the rest commonly are, yet far from well.

Their character and mode of living.

Ruinous state of churches.

“If this be the estate of the church in the best-peopled diocese, and best-governed country of this your realm, as in truth it is; easy is it for your majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation, either of religion or manners, hath yet been planted and continued among them: yea, so profane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become, as it hath been preached publickly before me, that the sacrament of baptism is not used among them: and truly I believe it.

Worse condition of other dioceses.

Their heathenish state.

“If I should write unto your majesty, what spoil hath been, and is, of the archbishopricks, of which there are four, and of the bishopricks, whereof there are above thirty, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the potentates, their noisome neighbours, I should make too long a libel of this my letter. But your majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case: the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars: the ruin of the very temples themselves; the want of good ministers to serve in them when they shall be re-edified; competent living for the ministers, being well chosen.

No church so miserable as that of Ireland.

Misery of three particulars.

“For the first, let it like your most gracious majesty to write earnestly to me, and to whom else it may best please you, to examine in whom the fault is, that the churches are so ruinous: if it be found in the country or farmers, to compel them speedily to go about the amend-

Proposed remedies as to buildings,

ment of them; if the fault, for the churches of your highness's inheritance, be not in the farmers, nor they bound to repair them, (and the most ruined of them are such as are of your possession,) it may like you to grant warrant, that some portion may yearly, of the revenue of every parsonage, be bestowed on the church of the same.

And ministers
who can speak
Irish,

“For the second and third, which is, that good ministers might be found to occupy the places, and they made able to live in them: in choice of which ministers, for the remote places, where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that such be chosen as can speak Irish: for which search would be made, first and speedily, in your own universities; and any found there, well affected in religion, and well conditioned beside, they would be sent hither animated by your majesty; yea, though it were somewhat to your highness's charge: and on peril of my life you shall find it returned with gain, before three years be expired. If there be no such there, or not enough, (for I wish ten or twelve at the least,) to be sent, who might be placed in offices of dignity in the church, in remote places of this realm, then do I wish, (but this most humbly under your highness's correction,) that you would write to the regent of Scotland, where, as I learn, there are many of the reformed church that are of this language, that he would prefer to your highness so many, as shall seem good to you to demand, of honest, zealous, and learned men, and that could speak this language: and, though for a while your majesty were at some charge, it were well bestowed, for in short time their own preferments would be able to suffice them; and in the mean time thousands would be gained to Christ, that now are lost, or left at the worst.

To be sought in
the English
universities,

And in Scotland.

Provision recom-
mended for the
churches of the
pale.

“And for the ministry of the churches of the English pale of your own inheritance, be contented, most virtuous queen, that some convenient portion for a minister may be allowed to him, out of the farmer's rent; it will not be much loss to you in your revenue, but gain otherwise inestimable, and yet the decay of your rent but for a while: for, the years once expired of the leases already granted, there is no doubt but that to be granted to the church will be recovered with increase.

"I wish, and most humbly beseech your majesty, that there may be three or four grave, learned, and venerable personages of the clergy there, be sent hither, who in short space, being here, would sensibly perceive the enormities of this overthrown church, and easily prescribe orders for the repair and upholding of the same, which I hope God would confirm. And I find no difficulty, but that your officer here might execute the same. Cause the bishops of that your realm to undertake this apostleship, and that upon their own charges. They be rich enough: and if either they be thankful to your majesty for your immense bounty done to them, or zealous to increase the Christian flock, they will not refuse this honourable and religious travail; and I will undertake their guiding and guarding honourably and safely from place to place: the great desire that I have to have such from thence, is, for that I hope to find them, not only grave in judgment, but void of affections.

Intreaty for
clergy from
England;

For English
bishops to visit
Ireland.

"I most humbly beseech your majesty, to accept these my rude letters, as figures of a zealous mind for reformation of this your church and country; wherein me thinketh I work waywardly, when the latter is preferred before the former. When I had come to the end of this my evil-scribbled letter, and beheld the illegible lines and ragged letters of mine own staggering hand, I was ashamed to suffer the same to be sent to your majesty, but made my man to write it out again: for which I most humbly crave pardon, as for the rest of this my tedious petition. And thus from the bottom of my heart wishing to your majesty the long continuance of your most prosperous and godly reign over us, your most happy subjects; as a most faithful and obedient servant, I recommend myself and service to your most excellent majesty.

The Lord De-
puty's excuses
for his letter.

"From your highness's castle of Dublin this 28th of April, 1576.

"Your majesty's faithful, humble,
and obedient servant,

"II. SYDNEY¹."

The same year in which this pathetick repre-

Commission to
rectify ecclesiastical
abuses.

¹ Sir H. SIDNEY'S *Letters and Memorials*, i. 112.

sensation of the disastrous state of ecclesiastical affairs is dated, a commission was sent over from the queen for rectifying it, by providing for the supply of churches and ministers².

As to this lamentable scarcity of churches, it is reasonable to inquire, what was the cause of such a defect in a country, so abundant as Ireland had of old times been in the sacred edifices of religion.

Causes of the
scarcity of
churches.

The cause may probably be found, to no small degree, in the perpetual rebellions and conflicts which agitated the kingdom, illustrated as this conjecture is by the recorded facts of the desolation by which these intestine outrages were sometimes distinguished.

Rebellions
and wars.

O'Neal's destruc-
tion of Armagh
Cathedral, in
1566.

Thus near the commencement of this reign, in 1566, we learn, that in the common ruin which was spread over the north by the rebellion of Shane O'Neal, the cathedral, together with the metropolitan town of Armagh, was "utterly destroyed³;" an expression which must be taken with some qualification, as the building, which still exists, is evidently in part the production of an earlier age. Still the demolition must have been fearful and extensive: for in an Act of Parliament, three years after, the church is represented to have been "ruined, broken down, and defaced⁴;" and it drew from the contemporary historian, Camden, the following description: "In our memory, the church and city of Armagh were so foully defaced by the rebel Shane O'Neal. that they lost all their ancient beauty and glory; and nothing remaineth at this day, but a few small wattled cottages, with the ruinous walls of a monastery, priory, and the primate's palace⁵." The cause

² Cox, i. 347.

³ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 95.

⁴ Irish Stat., 11 Eliz., Sess. 3, c. 1.

⁵ CAMDEN'S *Ireland*, p. 109.

assigned for this outrage was, "that he did it, lest the English should lodge therein;" for which fact the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by Archbishop Loftus, then Lord Primate of all Ireland, and by the clergy of his diocese⁶.

And thus at the very time of which we are speaking, namely, in 1576, when the town of Athenry was burnt by the Mac an Earlas, the church itself was not exempt from the common ruin, although it contained the burial-place of the mother of one of the ravagers: a circumstance which was so far from mitigating his fury, that a remonstrance addressed to the son, upon the plea that his mother was buried in that church, was met by the unnatural and impious answer, that, "if his mother were alive, he would sooner burn her and the church together, than any English church should fortify there⁷."

Athenry Church
burnt by the
Mac an Earlas,
in 1576.

That the like spirit animated others of the rebel chiefs, is no uncharitable opinion: and that it produced the like fruit, is a conjecture by no means irrational. But indeed without having recourse to the hypothesis of a malicious disposition, exerted against the churches of the Protestant and English faith, we cannot peruse the history of these calamitous times, and follow such men as Rory Oge O'More in their depredations, laying waste large districts of country, and burning and destroying whole towns and villages on their march, without seeing ample cause to believe, that, whether intentionally or not, the churches must have fallen in the general conflagration and demolition⁸.

Having allowed, however, for the devastation of war and violence, much is probably to be attributed

Natural decay,
not promptly
and effectively
resisted.

⁶ WARE's *Annals*, Eliz. p. 10.

⁷ Cox, i. 346.

⁸ *Ib.*, 350—352.

to natural decay also, not seasonably encountered and effectually remedied. In ordinary cases the law imposed the charge of repairing churches on the parishioners, and authorized the bishop to take cognisance of and direct the repairs. But under the actual circumstances of the country it may be well imagined, that the parishioners would be remiss in discharging what belonged to them in this respect; and that the bishops would, in some cases at least, be wanting in inclination to enforce the law, and compel the reparation, even if they possessed the ability, which in the disturbed and lawless state of the country, and amongst agitators and rebels, they of necessity frequently did not. Thus natural decay would come in aid of the desolating influence of warfare; and its progress, when once commenced, if not promptly and assiduously checked, would advance with accelerated force, so as to make restoration impossible, and to consign the edifices to ruin, as irremediable as that which was produced by the devastation of war.

Difficulty of finding a remedy.

But whatever may have been the cause, that the evil was widely prevalent appears too plainly from the foregoing letter: not so any practicable remedy. An attempt to introduce such a remedy by a legislative enactment, about six years before, failed of success, as has been already shown. The attempt itself is an argument, that a sufficient legal remedy did not at that time exist: and Sir Henry Sidney's letter must be understood as admitting the same defect: otherwise, why such an earnest appeal to the interposition of the queen? Whether or not she interposed, in compliance with his earnest suit, is not recorded, except so far as is intimated by the subsequent commission. Instances, indeed, of a

desire in the government to animate the bishops to the exercise of such powers as they possessed, are supplied by the conduct of two of Sir Henry Sidney's successors in office, Sir William Drury and Sir John Perrot, who would fain have had means taken for the repair of churches by episcopal authority. But this produced no effect; at least there will soon appear fresh occasion to lament the unsupplied deficiency of parochial edifices for divine worship.

The scarcity of curates was another defect, which by the queen's commission was required to be supplied. The defect was obvious; and the causes of it were not far to seek. They were to be found to some extent in the abuse of episcopal patronage; more, in the want of persons properly qualified to discharge the functions of the ministry in a country so peculiarly circumstanced as Ireland; most of all, perhaps, in the penury of the country, the multitude of lay impropriations, despoiled from the church, and the poverty of the benefices, which afforded no competent maintenance for those who might be qualified and willing to engage in the ministry. These causes will be seen more particularly at a period, somewhat later than the present, when occasion will be offered for recurring to these defects in the church: and when it will be seen also, what little remedy for the supply of them was ministered by this commission of the queen.

Scarcity of
curates.

Allusion was just now made to the conduct of Sir William Drury, in endeavouring to effect the reparation of the ruined churches. On the resignation of the government of Ireland by Sir Henry Sidney, who had filled the station eleven years, and seven several times, and left it with the honourable

Sir H. Sidney
succeeded by Sir
W. Drury.

Queen's injunctions relative to divine service.
1578.

testimony of Camden⁹, that "he was one of the most commendable deputies that ever was in Ireland," he was succeeded by Sir William Drury, in 1578; who, in the month of September, a few days after he had been sworn into his office, made a journey through Munster, accompanied by Sir Edward Fitton, and others of the council. At Kilkenny, he bound several citizens, by a recognizance of forty pounds, to come to church, and hear divine service every Sunday, pursuant to the queen's injunctions; and he advised the Bishop of Ossory "to make a rate for the repair of the church, and to distrain for the payment of it¹⁰." I am not aware what were the special instructions of the Lord Deputy; or whether he extended his advice to other bishops; or what were the particular circumstances which called for his interference at Kilkenny; or what was the result of his advice to the Bishop of Ossory, the same Nicholas Walsh, of whom there has been lately occasion for making respectful mention on account of his exertions for the religious improvement of the country.

Image of St. Dominick publicly burnt at Cork.

In the same year, and about the same season, Matthew Sheyn, who had been promoted to the bishoprick of Cork and Cloyne about four years before, and who is commemorated for his great enmity to the superstitious veneration shown by the Papists for the objects of their idolatrous worship, gave an instance of this enmity, by publicly burning at the high cross of Cork the image of St. Dominick, belonging to the Dominican friary in that city, greatly to the mortification and sorrow of the inhabitants who were attached to that superstition¹¹.

⁹ CAMDEN, *Eliz.*, 231.

¹⁰ COX, i. 354.

¹¹ WARE'S *Bishops*, 564.

In the same year, on Sunday after St. George's day, James Bedlow, a citizen of Dublin, did penance, standing barefoot before the pulpit in Christ Church, and at the same time publicly confessed his faults, which were these: 1. He had denied the queen to be head of the Church. 2. He alleged that one article of the ten commandments was false. And, 3. That the preachers, when they were out of their matter, and knew not what to say, fell to railing at the Pope. All which particulars were said to be confuted in a learned and eloquent sermon preached by Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin¹².

An act of penance by a citizen of Dublin.

At or about this time several instances are recorded of the patronage given by the Pope to the Irish rebels, in aid of their attempts to overthrow the dominion of Queen Elizabeth, and withal the Reformed Church of Ireland.

Pope's patronage of the Irish rebels.

In 1579 the Earl of Desmond had become so insolent, that he wrote an arrogant letter to Sir William Pelham, who on the death of Sir William Drury had been recently chosen Lord Justice, importing that he and his brethren were entered into the defence of the catholick faith, and advising the Lord Justice to join him: "understanding that we took this matter in hand with great authority, both from the Pope's holiness and from King Philip, who do undertake to further us in our affairs as we shall need¹³."

Earl of Desmond's letter to the Lord Justice. 1579.

Nor was this an idle boast; for in the preceding year, the holy father, Gregory the Thirteenth, partly to propagate the Romish faith, and partly to acquire the kingdom of Ireland for his son, had confederated with King Philip of Spain to contribute to the charge of the Irish rebellion, to join councils and

Confederacy of the Pope and King of Spain. 1578.

¹² WARBURTON'S *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 200.

¹³ Cox, i. 361.

forces, and to send aid into Ireland under the command of an English fugitive, who was invested with a marquisate to qualify him for so high a command¹⁴.

Papal indulgences for fighting against the queen, 1580.

And in the following year, 1580, the same holy father granted to all the Irish, who would fight against the Queen, the same plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, as were granted to those who were engaged in the holy war against the Turks¹⁵.

Ireland given by the Pope to the King of Spain.

And in the autumn of the same year, seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, under the command of an Italian, landed in Kerry, being sent by the Pope and King of Spain to propagate the miscalled catholick religion; and there they built them a fort, which being besieged by the Lord Deputy, Lord Gray of Wilton, and summoned to surrender, they returned for answer, "That they held it for the Pope and the King of Spain, to whom the Pope had given the kingdom of Ireland¹⁶."

Irreligious and unscrupulous conduct of the Pope.

By such courses of disloyalty to their natural sovereign, and of conspiracy with her enemies, of sedition, rebellion, and outrage, did their holy father, the Bishop of Rome, train his Irish children in the knowledge and practice of their Christian duty; and by such weapons of carnal warfare did his holiness strive to maintain the papal supremacy in Ireland under the pretended semblance of the true catholick faith. Nor did he scruple to authorize the republication of the bulls of his predecessor, Pope Pius the Fifth, against the queen, unthroning her as a bastard and a heretick, and discharging her subjects from their allegiance¹⁷.

¹⁴ Cox, i, p. 352.

¹⁵ *Ib.* 367.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 365.

¹⁷ *Ib.*

In 1582 died Robert Daly, bishop of Kildare: a prelate no otherwise memorable than that, in the course of his eighteen years' incumbency, he had been three times turned in a manner almost naked out of his house, and plundered of his goods by the rebels. He died in the winter of this year, soon after the third outrage, which was supposed to have been the cause of his death¹⁸.

Death of Bishop Daly, after being thrice plundered by rebels.
1582.

And in the same year, to fill the vacancy lately made in the bishoprick of Clonfert, a successor was appointed, with a dispensation to hold the church of Dunmore, in the diocese of Tuam: which is here noticed for the purpose of remarking, that this church had been held by Thomas Laly, a layman; who was deprived of it for his inability to exercise the clerical functions¹⁹.

A layman deprived for inability to exercise clerical functions.

About Midsummer, 1584, a new Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, arrived in Ireland with instructions, which had no immediate reference to the Church, except that "no man, ecclesiastical or civil, who had any function or office, be suffered to be absent from his charge above two months, without special licence, on pain of forfeiture²⁰." The Lord Deputy's commission authorized him "to collate and confer all spiritual promotions, except archbishops and bishops²¹." But this exception was superseded in the instance of the archbishoprick of Armagh, then void, by one of his instructions, which empowered him to "place there such an archbishop as the Lord Deputy and the council should think fit."

Instructions to Sir J. Perrot, lord deputy.
1584.

His commission concerning spiritual promotions.

Primate Lancaster had died a short time before, having occupied the see between fifteen and sixteen

Death of Primate Lancaster.

¹⁸ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 391.

¹⁹ Rolls.

²⁰ Cox, i. 369.

²¹ *Ib.*, i. 368.

John Long,
primate, 1584.

The Lord De-
puty's endeavours for the
improvement of
the Church.

years from his consecration. Three benefices which he held in England, and three in Ireland, to compensate for the poverty of his see, constitute his chief memorial. In the ensuing July, John Long, a native of London, and doctor of divinity of King's College, Cambridge, was promoted to the primacy by the Lord Deputy, at whose instance also he was called into the privy council in 1585.

Sir John Perrot was active in his government, and soon proceeded to exert all his powers for repairing the ruinous and miserable state of Ireland. For this purpose, together with other measures for the civil improvement of the country, he directed his mind to the supply of its ecclesiastical wants. During the three administrations, which had intervened since the death of Sir William Drury in 1579, no efforts are recorded to have been made for the remedy of the crying necessities of the Church, notwithstanding the office of lord justice had been filled by the Archbishop of Dublin, during about a year and a half of that interval. A sense of the arduousness of the undertaking may have repressed exertion. Sir John Perrot, however, encouraged the bishops to carry into effect the repair of the churches in their dioceses, but apparently with little good success; and he recommended the English government that no more bishopricks might be granted *in commendam*²².

A bishop settled
at Kilmore.

It was during his administration also, that means were taken for bringing the diocese of Kilmore under the royal jurisdiction. This see, lying in an unsettled and tumultuous country, had been much neglected by the crown of England: so that, even after the Reformation, the bishops of it succeeded,

²² Cox, i. 382.

either by usurpation or by papal authority, as is instanced in the cases of those who occupied it from 1529 to 1585. But in the latter year, among other overtures made to the council of England, for the better advancement of the queen's interest in Ireland, the Lord Deputy set forth the following representation concerning this See of Kilmore: "that it had not been bestowed on any Englishman or Irishman by the queen, or any of her progenitors, within the memory of man; that of late there was a lewd friar come from Rome," (meaning one John or Richard Brady, who, it seems, had been Bishop of Kilmore, under the Pope's title, before the year 1576,) "as a delegate of the Pope's who usurped it, dispersing abroad seditious bulls, and such like trash; that he, the Lord Deputy, had dispossessed him of the place, and hoped to bring him to submission, or to answer for his lewdness; and, as he judged it would be an increase of her majesty's authority among those barbarous people to have a bishop placed there by her majesty, so he recommended John Garvey, dean of Christ Church, to supply the place, and to supplant the usurping bishop: and he desired a warrant to in-throne him." By a letter from the Privy Council of England, it appears that the Lord Deputy's recommendation and request were complied with; and John Garvey was, by letters patent, dated the following 27th of January, 1586, advanced to the see of Kilmore²³.

Condition of the diocese.

Usurped by a Popish emissary.

John Garvey made bishop, 1586.

It had been amongst the additional instructions to the Lord Deputy, "to consider how a college may be erected; and St. Patrick's Church, and the revenue thereof, may be appropriated thereunto;

Plan for converting St. Patrick's into a college, 1584.

²³ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 230.

and every diocese by Act of Parliament be made contributory out of the leases of impropriations." The Lord Deputy was desirous of obeying this instruction: and accordingly of dissolving the cathedral of St. Patrick's, converting it into an university, and applying its revenues to that use. But in this undertaking, he found a formidable opponent in Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, who was deeply interested in the benefices and other estates belonging to the cathedral, by long leases which had been granted either to himself, or to his children and kinsmen: and, therefore, notwithstanding the measure proceeded from the crown, he exerted all his influence for withstanding the alienation of these revenues²⁴. At the same time, in vindication of the archbishop's opposition, it should be added, that there was a good ground for it in publick considerations. The crown nominated to all the dignities in Christ Church, the other cathedral in the diocese of Dublin; and all the prebends in that cathedral were at the disposal of the chapter: so that, if the project for converting St. Patrick's into a college had been accomplished, the archbishoprick would have been left, by the alienation of the preferments in that cathedral, with very few and inferior benefices in its patronage. Archbishop King's letters, written more than a century after, are stated to be filled with complaints of the smallness of his patronage, so that he was scarcely able to provide fit ministers for the service of the cures in the several parishes of his diocese, notwithstanding several parishes were united in some parts, for the purpose of increasing the means²⁵.

Opposed by
Archbishop
Loftus.

Publick grounds
for the arch-
bishop's opposi-
tion.

But, whatever were the merits of the case,

²⁴ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 353.

²⁵ MASON's *St. Patrick*, p. 103, note.

unhappily it was contested with no commendable temper on either side. The archbishop was a man of high spirit, and used to bear sway in the government; from the highest station in which, namely, that of Lord Justice, he had been removed by the appointment of Sir John Perrot to the viceroyalty. He fell, therefore, into contradiction, and thence into contention, with the Lord Deputy; nor was the Lord Deputy of a temper to brook opposition patiently. There followed between them no slight animosity, which came to the queen's notice, and caused her majesty to interfere by letter for their reconciliation. But the archbishop's enmity continued unabated: and in the end it contributed, with other causes of impeachment, to Sir John Perrot's removal from Ireland, and subsequently to his condemnation, some of the chief articles against him being that he was severe in his administration, and compelled the people to take the oath of allegiance, and endeavoured to promote laws against recusants²⁶.

Contention between the Lord Deputy and the archbishop.

In the mean time, by means of the Lord Treasurer of England, who was a fast friend and powerful supporter of the archbishop, the projected appropriation of the revenues of the cathedral was precluded, notwithstanding the royal authority, by which the Lord Deputy had engaged in the undertaking. Possibly the anticipation of another project, which was soon afterwards brought forward by the archbishop himself, may have produced a readier acquiescence in the relinquishment of that which had been at this time proposed.

Failure of the project.

By way of introduction to an Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1586, I revert to an earlier period,

Act against witchcraft.
28 Eliz., c. 2.
1586.

²⁶ Cox, i. 337.

Probable cause
of it.

when an incident occurred apparently connected with the act in question. When the Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, was on a progress through the South in 1578, it is related by Cox, that "he executed twenty-two criminals at Limerick, and thirty-six at Kilkenny, one of which was a blackamoor, and two others were witches, who were condemned by the law of nature, for there was no positive law against witchcraft in those days²⁷." The execution of these wretched pretenders to supernatural qualities, without the warrant of national law, was surely a strong exercise of arbitrary power.

Preamble of the
act.

It was, probably, to provide for similar exigences, and to supply the deficiency of the law, that "an Act was passed against witchcraft and sorcery," in the parliament of 1586: and it is here cited as showing the state of publick opinion on a subject, connected with the religious profession of the kingdom. The preamble to this act, which sets strongly forth, not only the extensive practice of witchcraft, but the belief entertained of its efficacy, runs in the following terms: "Where at this present there is no ordinary nor condign punishment provided against the practices of the wicked offences of conjurations and invocations of evil spirits, and of sorceries, inchantments, charms, and witchcrafts, whereby many fantastical and devilish persons have devised and practised invocations and conjurations of evil and wicked spirits, and have used and practised witchcrafts, inchantments, charms, and sorceries, to the destruction of the persons and goods of their neighbours, and other subjects of this realm, and for other lewd and evil intents and purposes, contrary to the laws of Almighty God, to the peril of their own

²⁷ Cox, i. 354.

souls, and to the great infamy and disquietness of this realm."

The penalties enacted were, that persons using any invocations or conjurations of evil and wicked spirits, to any intent or purpose, or using any witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any person shall happen to be killed or destroyed, should be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy: that persons using witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any one should be wasted, consumed, or lamed, in body or member, or his goods or chattels destroyed, wasted, or impaired, should, for the first offence, suffer one year's imprisonment, and the pillory six hours once a quarter; and, for the second, death as a felon: and that persons taking upon them to discover by witchcraft hidden treasures, or stolen goods, or to provoke unlawful love, should, for the first offence, suffer one year's imprisonment and the pillory; and, for the second, forfeiture of goods to the queen, and imprisonment for life.

Penalties
enacted by it.

The death of Archbishop Long, in 1589, caused a vacancy in the primacy, which was filled by the translation of Bishop Garvey from the see of Kilmore. He was born in the county of Kilkenny, being the only Irishman promoted to the primacy by Queen Elizabeth; and had been educated in Oxford, where he graduated in King Edward the Sixth's reign²⁸. He appears to have been a man of high esteem; for, whilst Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, he had been called to the privy council, and afterwards promoted to the bishoprick of Kilmore, on the special recommendation of the Lord Deputy,

Death of Arch-
bishop Long.

Bishop Garvey
elevated to the
primacy.
1539.

His character.

²⁸ WARE'S *Bishops*.

and under the peculiar circumstances already mentioned. And on the present occasion, by her mandate dated at Westminster, July 12, 1591, the queen gave orders for remitting to this prelate the payment of his first fruits for the archbishoprick, amounting to 137*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*, on account of his great hospitality, as also for his painful and true service to the queen of a long time continued, being her ancientest counsellor in that kingdom²⁹. He is not included in the *History of the Writers of Ireland*; but, on the authority of the Oxford Antiquary³⁰, there has been ascribed to him a small treatise, entitled, *The Conversion of Philip Curwin, a Franciscan Friar, to the Reformation of the Protestant Religion*, A. D. 1589, published by Robert Ware, Dublin, 1681, from two copies of the original, remaining among Primate Ussher's and Sir James Ware's papers³¹. Philip Curwin was a nephew of Hugh Curwin, who succeeded Archbishop Browne in the see of Dublin, on his deprivation by Queen Mary.

His treatise of
the conversion of
Philip Curwin.

It should seem that the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliams, who had succeeded Sir John Perrot the year before the promotion of the new primate, did not attach the same importance as his predecessor to the occupancy of the bishoprick of Kilmore: since, after the promotion of Bishop Garvey, that see continued without a pastor above fourteen years. This defect is said to have been occasioned by the confusion of the times³². But, whatever was the cause, it must have been very inadequately supplied by the custodiam of the bishoprick, during the vacancy, being granted to the Bishop of Down and Connor, remote as those

Kilmore again
left without a
bishop.

²⁹ Rolls, 31 Eliz.

³⁰ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, i. 715.

³¹ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 96.

³² WARE, p. 231.

charges are from each other, and separated by three intervening dioceses.

Though the plan for forming a college in Dublin, as originally projected, under the government of Sir John Perrot, had failed of success, principally from the opposition of the archbishop, who resisted such an appropriation of the revenues of one of his cathedrals, a similar plan was soon afterwards proposed by the same prelate, and accomplished in the foundation of the college of Dublin, or, to describe it by its more comprehensive and dignified appellation, of the Dublin University. For this purpose, in 1590, "In Easter holydays," as Sir James Ware defines the time, "Adam Loftus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with others of the clergy, met the mayor, and aldermen, and commons of the city, at the Tholsel, where he made a speech to them, setting forth 'how advantageous it would be to have a nursery of learning founded here; and how kindly her majesty would take it, if they would bestow that old decayed monastery of All-Hallows, which her father, King Henry the Eighth, had, at the dissolution of the abbeys, given them, for erecting such a structure;' whereupon the mayor, aldermen, and commons unanimously granted his request⁸³."

New plan for a college in Dublin;

Proposed and effected by Archbishop Loftus.

1590.

Site granted by the mayor and aldermen.

Within a week after, Henry Ussher, archdeacon of Dublin, went over into England to the queen, in order to procure a licence for the intended foundation. The queen readily granted the petition; and, by warrant, dated the 29th of December, 1591, ordered a licence of mortmain to pass the seals for the grant of the abbey of All-Hallows, which is

Queen's warrant, December, 1591.

⁸³ WARE'S *Anna's*.

Letters patent
for the erection.

recited to be of the yearly value of 20*l.*; and for the foundation of such a college by way of corporation, with a power to accept such lands and contributions, for the maintenance thereof, as any of her subjects should be charitably moved to bestow, to the value of 400*l.* a-year. On the 3rd of March following, letters patent passed in due form, pursuant to the said warrant; by which, first, a college is appointed to be erected, to be the mother of an university, in a certain place, called All-Hallows, near Dublin, for the education, institution, and instruction of youth in arts and faculties, to endure for ever; secondly, that it be called "The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin, founded by the most serene Queen Elizabeth;" thirdly, that it consist of one provost and three fellows, in the name of more, and three scholars, in the name of more. These were followed by other ordinances, amounting in the whole to twelve, for the constitution and future government of the new incorporation.

Aid sought from
the gentry,

To provide a fund for the necessary expenses of this infant society, on the 11th of March, 1592, the Lord Deputy and the Privy Council issued circular letters to some principal gentlemen in each barony of the kingdom, entreating the benevolence of the well-disposed inhabitants. In these they set forth her majesty's tender care for the good and prosperous estate of her realm of Ireland; and her knowledge, by experience of the flourishing estate of England, how beneficial it is to any country to have places of learning erected in the same; and they earnestly requested contributions in putting forward so excellent a purpose, as the new foundation, "for the benefit of the whole country, whereby knowledge, learning, and civility may be increased, to the banish-

ing of barbarism, tumults, and disorderly living from among them, and whereby their children, and their children's children, especially those that be poor, (as it were in an orphan's hospital freely,) may have their learning and education given them with much more ease, and lesser charges, than in other universities they can obtain it³⁴." What this application produced in general does not appear; but the return made to the warrant by a gentleman in the barony, if that be taken for a criterion, leads to the conclusion that the sum was very small: "He had applied to all the gentlemen of the barony of Louth, whose answer was, that they were poor, and not able to give anything towards the building of the college."

Without success.

In the meanwhile, the queen's licence having been obtained, "The Archbishop of Dublin went a second time to the Tholsel, and returned to the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city, thanks, not only from the clergy, but from her majesty, whose letter he showed them for their satisfaction. And immediately labourers were set to work, to pull down the old ruinous buildings, which they quite demolished, save only the steeple³⁵."

Thanks of the Archbishop to the Mayor, &c., of Dublin.

On the 13th of March, 1591, according to the computation of the Church of England, or 1592, according to the common computation, Thomas Smith, then mayor of Dublin, laid the first stone of Trinity College; and on the 9th of January, 1593, the first students were admitted into it. "Sir William Cecil, Lord Baron of Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council," for he is thus described by Ware in his narrative of the event, "was the

College commenced, March, 1592.

Students admitted, Jan. 1593

³⁴ *History of Dublin*, i. 542—544.

³⁵ *WARE'S Annals*.

first Chancellor thereof; Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, the first Provost; Lucas Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullerton, and James Hamilton, the first Fellows; Abel Walsh, James Ussher, and James Lee, the first scholars of the same." "The year 1593," says Sir Richard Cox, with becoming respect for the character of this invaluable institution, the creation of which throws the brightest light upon the reign of Queen Elizabeth over Ireland, "is memorable for the college of Dublin, which was then finished, and made an university; whereof the Lord Burleigh was the first Chancellor, and Ussher, afterwards the learned primate, was the first," he should have said, one of the three first scholars, "entered there; which proved a good omen, that that noble foundation would produce many good and learned men, for the service of God and King, both in Church and State"²⁶.—*Esto perpetua!*

SECTION IV.

Edmund Spenser's Account of the Irish Church. Sir Francis Bacon's Plan for its improvement. Difficulty of the Subject. Henry Ussher. James Ussher. An eminent Controversialist and Preacher. Conduct of the Government towards the Papists. Act of Uniformity not enforced. Forebodings of Ussher. Benefaction to the University. State of the Church at the Queen's Death.

Spenser's account
of the Irish
Church.

THE foundation of Trinity College seems to determine this to be the proper period for noticing the state of the Irish Church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as delineated by one who possessed the best means for informing himself on the subject by

²⁶ Cox, i. 402.

local observation, and who has communicated his information in a form which bears strong testimony to its veracity.

Edmund Spenser, the illustrious author of *The Faerie Queene*, accompanied Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, lord deputy of Ireland, to that country in 1580, in quality of his secretary. In 1585 he obtained a grant of above 3000 acres of land at Killecoleman, in the county of Cork, where he settled and resided with his family, and composed his incomparable poem. There also, he composed, *A View of the State of Ireland, written Dialogue-wise, between Eudoxus and Irenæus*, the MS. of which, taken from Archbishop Ussher's library, was first published by Sir James Ware, in 1633¹. His death, in 1596, or 1598, fixes the latest date at which this work can have been written, as the time of his settling in Ireland fixes the earliest. A passage in the Dialogue, where he makes respectful mention of persons "who were lately planted in their new college," reduces the question within the few years which preceded his death; the college, as we have seen, having been completed in 1593.

His connexion
with the country.

His view of the
state of Ireland.

Date of the work.

It is, in truth, a frightful and a painful portrait, which the following abstract will exhibit; but, even if some features should be deemed to be exaggerated, "a want of moderation" being a fault which Harris imputes to Spenser, it is to be feared, nevertheless, that the copy bears too close a general resemblance to the original.

Melancholy
picture in his
work on Ireland.

Of the ministers of religion he affirms, that "the clergy there, excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the state, and some few others which are lately planted in their new college, are

Worldly charac-
ter of the clergy.

¹ WARE'S *Writers of Ireland*, p. 327.

generally bad, licentious, and most disordered." "Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, ye may find in Ireland, and many more; namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and, generally, all disordered life in the common clergymen. And, besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests, which now enjoy Church livings, they are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders: but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kind of husbandry, and other worldly affairs, as other Irishmen do. They neither read the Scriptures nor preach to the people, nor administer the Communion; but baptism they do: for they christen yet after the popish fashion. Only they take the tythes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly; and some of them, they say, pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops, (I speak of those which are Irish,) as they receive them duly." Persons such as these were not likely to forward the English Reformation in Ireland.

Arbitrary
conduct of the
bishops.

Nor were the bishops more likely, possessed as they were of absolute power over their clergy, whom, knowing, as they did, their own unworthiness and incapacity, and that they were, therefore, still removable at the bishop's will, they kept in extreme awe and subjection under them. That power they exercised, as a mean of procuring what portion they chose for their own emolument of their clergy's benefices; "yea, and some of them," as Spenser says, "whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep

them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horseboys to take up the tythes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same. Of which abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon, and keep them so bestowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bring unto them."

It was intended by the first promoters of the Reformation in Ireland, and it had been provided by the legislature, that vacant benefices should be bestowed upon "persons who could speak English, apt and convenient to occupy the same," in preference to any person not so qualified. The frequent preferment of Englishmen should seem to have been the natural consequence of this provision.

Intention of the legislature as to vacant benefices,

2^d Henry VIII. c. 15;

But, although the bishops may not have declined to obey this law, the result appears to have been different from the anticipation. Many of the English, who went over to Ireland for the purpose of such preferment, were either unlearned or of questionable character, so as to be justly deemed incapable and insufficient for succeeding to a benefice; for, as Strype remarks, under the year 1563^a, "the ignorance of the ordinary sort of clergymen, curates, and such like, is commonly said to be great about these times. Notwithstanding all the pains that were used to deliver the Church of that blindness that enveloped the priests in the late popish times, it would not yet be dispelled. For an instance of this, I bring in here the curate of Cripplegate, one Tempest, a well-meaning man; who, having upon some occasion, perhaps the metropolitical visitation, been

How frustrated.

Ignorance of ordinary English curates.

^a *Life of Parker*, vol. i. p. 258.

before Peerson, the archbishop's chaplain, was asked by him some questions; and, among the rest, what was the meaning of the word 'function.' Which hard word he could not tell what to make of; for which it seems he was reprehended."

Englishmen of good character unwilling to seek preferment in Ireland.

At the same time, those of distinguished worth in their own country shrunk from exposing themselves to the hazard of rejection by a bishop, who was himself the legal judge of the sufficiency of the minister to be preferred, and who was likely to be influenced in his judgment by his own national and religious prepossessions, and perhaps by a regard to his own interest, which might be advanced by his rejection of the applicant. Besides, the poverty of the benefices was often such, that they would not afford "any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon, scarcely to buy him a gown." Add to this the difficulty, which any English minister must have experienced in endeavouring to do good, by teaching or preaching to those, who either could not understand, or would not hear him; the discomfort of living among those, so ill-affected as the common Irish then were to the English; and the hazard of committing his safety, in the defenceless security of a peaceful occupation, to the hands of those neighbours, whom the boldest members of the profession of arms durst not live near, without means of defence and preservation.

Opposition from Popish emissaries.

Meanwhile every opposition was to be encountered from the ministers and emissaries of the Romish Church: from natives, who having gone abroad to Rheims, Doway, Lovain, and other foreign universities, thence returned home to propagate the Popish creed; and from foreigners, who crossed the sea from Italy or Spain into Ireland, there to main-

tain the authority of the Church of Rome, Both of these lurking secretly in the houses of the inhabitants, and in obscure corners of the country, caused more injury and hindrance to true religion by their private persuasions, than English ministers could do good by their publick instructions.

Add to this the scarcity of churches, the devastation of which must have reached to a most deplorable extent: for, in speaking of "building up and repairing all the ruined churches," he remarks, "whereof the most part lie even with the ground." And then, alluding to a recent attempt at their reparation, which had been made probably in pursuance of the queen's commission in 1576, and adding a reflection conceived in a spirit of wisdom and piety, worthy of the author of *The Faerie Queene*, he subjoins, "And some, that have been lately repaired, are so unhand-somely patched and thatched, that men do even shun the places for the uncomeliness thereof. Therefore I would wish that there were order taken to have them built in some better form, according to the churches of England; for the outward show, assure yourself, doth greatly draw the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof, whatever some of our late too nice fools say, that there is nothing in the seemly form and comely order of the church."

Churchwardens are recognised in the Act for Uniformity, as existing in Ireland^a; but Spenser annexes a remark, which may raise a doubt of the qualification of those officers, and their fitness to be intrusted with the charge of these hallowed buildings: "And for keeping and continuing them, there should likewise churchwardens of the gravest men in the parish be appointed, as they be here in England, which

Scarcity and
ruinous condi-
tion of the
churches.

Want of proper
churchwardens.

^a Irish Stat. 2 Eliz., c. 2., s. 3.

should take the yearly charge both hereof, and also of the school-houses, which I wish to be built near the said churches; for maintenance of both which it were meet, that some small portion of lands were allotted."

Scarcity of
curates.

The scarcity of curates was another defect, which, as we have seen, the queen's commission had directed to be rectified. But the evil was still craving a remedy: for the defect was more obvious, than was the sufficiency of any proposed mode of supply. "When all is done," demands Spenser's friend, in their imaginary dialogue, with reference to his suggested reparation and preservation of the ruined churches, "When all is done, how will you have your churches served, and your ministers maintained? Since the livings, as you say, are not sufficient scarce to make their gowns, much less to yield meet maintenance, according to the dignity of their degree." But Spenser's experience, observation, and judgment, could furnish no better answer than the following, "There is no way to help that, but to lay two or three of them together, until such time as the country grow rich and better inhabited; at which time the tythes, and other oblations, will also be more augmented and better valued." This expedient, however, would in all probability have acted less as a remedy for an existing disease, than as an occasion for introducing new, and aggravating former, evils in the ecclesiastical system. For whatever aid it may have contributed for the temporal maintenance of the ministers, at the same time by enlarging the sphere, it would have extenuated the efficacy, of their ministrations, and impeded the spiritual improvement of their flocks, and afforded additional openings for the interference of those, who were

Proposed union
of parishes;

An additional
evil.

continually at hand, and on the watch for opportunities of strengthening and perpetuating the Romish corruptions of the ancient Catholick faith.

How fearfully the faith had been corrupted, and into what a degraded state of religious, or rather irreligious, ignorance the people of Ireland had fallen, we learn from the melancholy statement of the same eye witness, "that they be all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, for the most part, that not one amongst an hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith; but can perhaps say his Pater-Noster, or his Ave-Maria, without any knowledge or understanding, what one word thereof meaneth."

State of irreligion
of the people.

The cause of this most miserable state of things, in Spenser's judgment, was to be found, not in the fault of them, "that held the place of government, that they, which are now in the light themselves, suffer a people under their charge to wallow in such deadly darkness," but rather in the distracted temper of the times. "That which you blame is not, I suppose, in any fault of will in those godly fathers, which have charge thereof; but the inconvenience of the time, and troublous occasions, wherewith that wretched realm hath been continually turmoiled. For instruction in religion needeth quiet times; and ere we seek to settle a sound discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity: for it is ill time to preach among swords, and most hard, or rather impossible, it is to settle a good opinion in the minds of men, for matters of religion doubtful, which have doubtless an evil opinion of us. For, ere the new be brought in, the old must be removed."

Distracted
temper of the
times a hindrance
to religious im-
provement.

And the mode of proceeding he thinks to be,

Best mode of
applying a
remedy, in
Spenser's judg-
ment.

that "religion should not be sought forcibly to be impressed into them, with terror and sharp penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient, that some discreet ministers of their own countrymen be first sent over amongst them, which by their meek persuasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace, the doctrine of their salvation."

Sentiments of
Sir Francis
Bacon.

Such was Spenser's view of the existing state of religion in Ireland: of the evil and of the cure. And it appears to have been about the same time, that the same subject received the attention of another illustrious person, a philosopher and a statesman, who was deeply impressed with a sense of the degraded state of the people under the Popish domination. Sir Francis Bacon, in his *Considerations touching the Queen's Service in Ireland*, communicated in a letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil, observes on the necessity of taking proper "means of instruction," for "the recovery of the hearts of the people;" which, he says, they have not yet had. He remarks that "till they be more like reasonable men than they yet are, their society were rather scandalous to the true religion than otherwise; as pearls cast before swine: for till they be cleansed from their blood, incontineney, and theft, which are now not the lapses of particular persons, but the very laws of the nation, they are incompatible with religion reformed." Considering "that one of the principal pretences whereby the heads of the rebellion have prevailed, both with the people and with the foreigner,

Proper means of
instruction
necessary.

Moral degrada-
tion of the people.

hath been the defence of their religion," he says, that "a toleration of religion, (for a time not definite,) except it be in some principal towns and precincts, seemeth to him a matter warrantable in religion, and in policy of absolute necessity."

Toleration in religion recommended.

"Neither," he continues, "if Rome will cozen itself by conceiving it may be some degree to the like toleration in England, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of Rome, and to stay further excommunications or interdictions for Ireland. But there would go, hand in hand with this, some course of advancing religion indeed, where the people is capable thereof; as the sending over some good preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous persuaders, and not scholastical, to be resident in principal towns; endowing them with some stipends out of her majesty's revenues; and the recontinuing and replenishing the college begun at Dublin, the placing of good men to be bishops in the sees there, and the taking care of the versions of bibles and catechisms, and other books of instruction, into the Irish language; and the like religious courses, both for the honour of God, and for the avoiding of scandal and insatisfaction here, by the shew of a toleration of religion in some parts there."

Means recommended for advancing true religion.

Thus it was not from inattention or indifference to the state of Ireland, especially in respect of religion; it was not from ignorance of the evils which beset the Church, or from an indisposition to remedy them, on the part of some of the most distinguished Englishmen of the age; that these evils were not corrected. On the contrary, how this state

Difficulty felt at all times in enlightening the people of Ireland.

of unchristian darkness and heathenish dissoluteness of morals could be abolished, and how in their room could be substituted universally throughout the country the pure light and the holy influence of Christianity, by the ministration of a Protestant clergy, and according to the rites of the Reformed Church, was the problem which now, and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, occupied the thoughts of many wise and good men. The English government probably took different views from those expressed in the foregoing letter: at least they do not appear to have acted upon them; and the problem, of infinite importance as they must have deemed it, still waited its solution.

Archbishop Garvey succeeded in Armagh by Henry Ussher. 1595.

His education and character.

In 1595, on the death of Archbishop Garvey, the vacant see of the primacy was filled by the appointment of Henry Ussher, of whom honourable mention was lately made as the agent of Archbishop Loftus, in seeking the patronage of the queen for the new university. Though a native of Dublin, he was educated out of Ireland, partly at Cambridge and partly at Paris; and subsequently had settled himself in University College, Oxford, being incorporated there in the degree of bachelor of arts, which he had taken at Cambridge. There, by the diligence of his studies, he laid the solid and sure foundation of theological learning which, combined with the qualities of prudence, wisdom, and diligence, raised him to the most elevated station in the Irish Church; and has caused his name to be transmitted to posterity with the character of one "who sate in the see of Armagh, as long as he lived, in great honour and repute among all Protestants."

With the exception, however, of his able and useful services in behalf of the new university, there appears to be little more known of the actions of his life, than of those of several of his predecessors; and his name is almost eclipsed by that of his more illustrious nephew, who has been lately mentioned as one of the original scholars of Trinity College: and who, in due course of time, succeeded his uncle, after one intervening primate, in the metropolitan see of Armagh.

His nephew, the illustrious James Ussher.

The occasion for adverting to him in this place arises from a celebrated publick dispute which he held with Henry Fitz-Symonds, a learned Jesuit, then in the castle of Dublin, who had said, that "being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him:" words which were interpreted into a challenge of disputation, with the greatest and most learned champion, in the controversies between the Romish and the Reformed Churches^o.

Challenge of the Jesuit Fitz-Symonds.

James Ussher from his tenderest years, together with strong feelings of devotion, had manifested great intellectual powers, which were cultivated and matured by assiduous study: and since his admission to the newly-established college, he had read and digested much of philosophy and history; had made a great proficiency in chronology; had acquired a sound knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and especially had devoted his mind with the utmost earnestness and care to the volume of the Holy Scriptures, which he was wont to call the Book of Books, and by which he determined to regulate his life; and thus prepared, he had engaged in the study

James Ussher's early life and education.

^o *Life and Death of Archbishop Ussher*, by NICHOLAS BERNARD, p. 32.

His theological attainments.

of polemical divinity, had diligently examined the most esteemed works written in defence of Popery, particularly STAPLETON'S *Fortress of the Faith*; had perused, here and there, divers books of the Fathers of the Church, as the most ancient and best interpreters of Holy Writ on points of controversy, on which Stapleton claimed the support of antiquity for the Romish tenets, and charged the advocates of the Reformation with novelty; and had thus waxed stronger and stronger in his conviction of the errors of Popery, and of the truth of the doctrines professed in his own Church⁷.

Judged fit to accept the Jesuit's challenge.

With a mind thus disciplined and furnished, he was considered the properest person to take up the Jesuit's challenge; and, although only nineteen years of age, he did not shrink from the combat, thus expressing the grounds of his confidence, notwithstanding his youth, in a letter which he subsequently wrote to his antagonist: "If I am a boy, as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me, I give thanks to the Lord, that my carriage towards you hath been such, as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is, in your own conceit, a weaver's beam, and your abilities such, that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel; and therefore, like the Philistine, you condemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor do come now, unto you in any confidence of any learning that is in me, in which respect notwithstanding I thank God, I am what I am; but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, whose companies you have reproached, being certainly persuaded, that even out of the mouths of babes and

His letter to Fitz-Symonds.

⁷ *Life and Letters of Archbishop Ussher*, by RICHARD PARR, p. 7.

sucklings He was able to show forth his own praises; for the further manifestation whereof I do earnestly request you, that, setting aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters that rest in controversy between us."

The subject of the disputation was the controversies of Bellarmine, for which a meeting of once a week was agreed on: and it so fell out that the first topick proposed was concerning Antichrist. "Twice or thrice," says Dr. Bernard, "they had solemn disputations, though the Jesuit acknowledged but one. He was ready to have proceeded, but the Jesuit was weary of it." His biographer says, that "he had confessedly the victory; at least the Jesuit was so baffled by his arguments, that he gave up his cause^o." However this may be, dependence may be placed on the following facts, as collected from Ussher's letter above cited: That "at their last meeting, Fitz-Symonds promised to write to Ussher concerning the chief points of his (Fitz-Symonds's) religion;" that, "seeing he had deferred the same, for reasons best known to himself, Ussher thought it not amiss to inquire further of his mind concerning the continuation of the conference betwixt them:" that "he again earnestly requested him, that they might go plainly forward in examining the matters, that rested in controversy between them." "Otherwise," he subjoins, "I hope you will not be displeased, if, as for your part you have begun, so I also, for my own part, may be bold, for the clearing of myself and the truth which I profess, freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter." It seems that no answer was returned to this letter; certainly

Subject of the
disputation.
1399.

Manner of its
termination.

Differently re-
presented by the
two controver-
sialists.

there was no continuance of the conference. In the Preface to his *Britannomachia*, Fitz-Symonds appears desirous of throwing the blame of this upon Ussher, saying, with reference to their former controversy, "he did not again deem me worthy of his presence:" a statement perfectly irreconcilable with the "earnest request," most ingenuously urged in the foregoing citation, "that they might go plainly forward in examining the matters that rested in controversy between them."

Select preachers,
1600.

Bishop Richardson.

James Ussher's
sermons on
Popery.

His catechetical
lectures.

In 1600, by reason of the scarcity of preachers, three young men were selected from the college, and appointed to preach at Christ Church before "the state," or government, of Ireland. One of these was John Richardson, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, a person distinguished for his industry and great abilities in the exposition of Scripture. The name of the second was Welsh, whose charge it was to handle the body of divinity on Sundays in the forenoon. The third was James Ussher, who was intrusted with the task of preaching on the Lord's-days in the afternoon, the chief governors at that time usually attending divine service twice every Sunday. "His part," says Dr. Bernard, "was to handle the controversies for the satisfaction of the Papists: which he did so perspicuously, ever concluding with matter of exhortation, that it was much for the confirmation and edification of the Protestants: which the elder sort of persons, living in my time, I have heard often acknowledging." In his capacity of catechist reader in the college, to which office he was chosen about the same time, Ussher made it the subject of a weekly employment, to explain in the presence of that seminary of religious education the principal articles of Christianity,

as professed and maintained by the Reformers in concurrence with the ancient church, in opposition to the errors and innovations of Popery.

An High Commission Court had been established in the year 1593, in Dublin, for inspecting and reforming all offences committed against the Act of Uniformity, in common with the other Acts of the second year of the queen. And it also appears to have been a regular and ordinary instruction to the government of Ireland, "in all times and all places, where any great assembly should be made before them, to persuade the people by all good means and ways to them seeming good, and especially by their own examples, to observe orders for divine service; and to embrace, and devoutly to observe, the order and service of the church established in the realm, by parliament or otherwise; to execute all manner of statutes of the realm; and to levy, or cause to be levied, all manner of forfeitures, &c."⁹

High Commission Court in Dublin.

Instructions to the Irish government concerning the church service.

In accordance with these injunctions, the Irish government, about the year 1599, saw reason for issuing an order, obliging the Papists to attend divine service in the churches every Sunday, under a pecuniary mulct of twelve-pence, by virtue of a clause in the Act of Uniformity¹⁰. An additional impulse and greater efficacy were given to this order by the overthrow of the Spaniards, at the celebrated battle of Kinsale, December the 24th, 1601: at which time it was designed, that the victory of the Spaniards, if they had proved successful, should be followed by the slaughter of most of the Protestants, both in Dublin and elsewhere, by the Irish Papists; but especially of the Protestant ministers, without

Order for the Papists to attend the church service.

Promoted by the battle of Kinsale. 1601.

⁹ LELAND'S *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 382.

¹⁰ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 100.

any distinction¹¹. But the hopes of the Irish being frustrated by the defeat of their confederates, they began to submit themselves to the statute, which was now carried into execution. And, for their better instruction in religion, the lord lieutenant and council directed the clergy to distribute themselves amongst the different churches of Dublin, in such manner that there might be a sermon for that purpose at each church, in the afternoon of every Lord's-day, after the example of what had been already begun at Christ Church before "the state."

Sermons provided for their instruction.

Amongst the clergymen who engaged in this labour, was James Ussher, who had been recently admitted to the holy orders of deacon and of priest, by his uncle the Archbishop of Armagh, by virtue of a special dispensation, as he had not attained the age prescribed by the canon law, which then regulated the church. The scene of his ministry on this occasion was the church of St. Catherine; where he digested the substance of his instruction into brief discourses, and then divided what he had delivered into the form of questions and answers for the next Sunday. On which day persons of good esteem voluntarily offered themselves to repeat the answers before the whole congregation, thus more especially arousing the attention, and contributing to the edification, of the Papists¹².

Ussher's mode of religious instruction.

Prospect of gaining the Papists,

By these labours of this eminent divine, and of others his brethren in the ministry, not only in Dublin, but in divers other parts of the kingdom, where a similar practice was adopted, the Papists were so regular and diligent in attending the service of the church, that, if at any time they had occasion to absent themselves, they would send their excuse

Defeated.

¹¹ BERNARD'S *Life of Ussher*, p. 30.

¹² *Ib.* p. 37.

to the churchwardens. But on a sudden, the hopes which had begun to be entertained of bringing the nation to one heart and one mind, and inducing them to glorify God with one mouth, in the creed and worship of the Reformed Church of Ireland, were intercepted and cut off.

The queen had always acted towards the Papists upon the principle of treating the peaceably-disposed and obedient with forbearance and indulgence, and "pursuing none for religion." Notwithstanding, therefore, the establishment of the High Commission Court, and the injunctions to the Irish government, her English ministers interfered, to restrain and counteract what they esteemed an immoderate exercise of authority in religious matters; and their directions were received with corresponding sentiments by Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, the lord deputy, who after an interval of five months, during which the government was administered by Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and Sir George Carey, lords justices, succeeded the Earl of Essex in the viceroyalty, in February, 1600, and thus expressed himself in answer to a communication from the lords of the English council.

Interposition of
the English
ministry.

Lord Mountjoy,
lord deputy,
1600.

"Whereas it hath pleased your lordships in your last letters to command us to deal moderately in the great matter of religion, I had, before the receipt of your lordships' letters, presumed to advise such as dealt in it, for a time to hold a more restrained hand therein. And we were both thinking ourselves what course to take in the revocation of what was already done, with least encouragement to them and others; since the fear that this course, begun in Dublin, would fall upon the rest, was apprehended all over the kingdom: so that I think your lordships' direction was to great purpose, and the other course might have

His answer to
the English
privy council.

overthrown the means of our own end of reformation of religion.

“Not that I think too great preciseness can be used in the reforming of ourselves, the abuses of our own clergy, church livings, or discipline: nor that the truth of the Gospel can with too great vehemency or industry be set forward, in all places, and by all ordinary means, most proper unto itself, that was first set forth and spread in meekness: nor that I think any corporal prosecution or punishment can be too severe for such as shall be found seditious instruments of foreign or inward practices: nor that I think it fit that any principal magistrates should be chosen without taking the oath of obedience, nor tolerated in absenting themselves from publick divine service: but that we may be advised how we do punish in their bodies or goods any such only for religion, as do profess to be faithful subjects to her majesty, and against whom the contrary cannot be proved¹³.”

Indisposition to enforce conformity by penalties.

Violation of Act of Uniformity connived at.

Thus by the intervention of the executive authority, although not repealed, the Act of Uniformity ceased to be enforced, and the violation of it was connived at: the power of the High Commission, which had been set up at that period only in Ireland in relation to the Papists, was withdrawn: under the reviving and uncontrolled influence of the Popish priests, the Papists forbore to take part in the Reformed worship; and Popery resumed its ascendancy over the unenlightened populace of the nation¹⁴.

Ussher's alarm.

The spirit of Ussher was strongly “stirred within him” by this new condition of things. He feared that the allowance of the free exercise of the Popish religion by publick authority would tend to the disturbance of the government both in church and state. He was deeply sensible, both of the offen-

¹³ LELAND'S *Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 382.

¹⁴ BERNARD'S *Life of Ussher*.

siveness of its idolatrous practices in the sight of God, and of its intolerant and persecuting nature, which made it so dangerous and pestilential to man. And he availed himself of a special solemnity, when it was in his course to preach before the government at Christ Church, for delivering a remarkable sermon, in which he plainly expressed his sense of the recent proceeding: choosing for his text the sixth verse of the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, where the prophet, by "lieing on his side," was to "bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee a day for a year;" a prophecy which he noted, by consent of interpreters, to signify the time of "forty years" to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that nation, for their idolatry: and then making direct application to his own country, in relation to its connivance at Popery, in these impressive words, "From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those, whom you now embrace, shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity."

His remarkable sermon and prediction on the occasion, delivered in 1601.

This application of the prophecy was made in 1601; and in 1641 broke out that rebellion, which was consummated in the massacre of many thousands of its Protestant inhabitants by those whose idolatrous religion was now connived at. The foreboding, in general, may have been no more than the result of judicious conjecture and foresight, actuated by an intimate knowledge of the true character of the Romish religion; the coincidence of time may have been a fortuitous circumstance; but it can hardly excite surprise, that many of those, who were apprized of the prediction, and who witnessed its accomplishment, regarded it as an effusion of inspiration. In the mean time, he, who had uttered the foreboding, never ceased to entertain a strong pre-

Its accomplishment in 1641.

Constantly expected by Ussher.

possession of its approaching accomplishment. "What a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon that his native country," relates one of his biographers, "I can witness from the year 1624, when I had the happiness first to be known to him; and the nearer the time every year, the more confident, to my often wonder and admiration; there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it¹⁵."

Benefaction to the University of Dublin.
1603.

In 1603, the University of Dublin received a benefaction, probably as unexpected as it was acceptable to the society, and no less honourable to the benefactors. Not long after the victory of Kinsale, the commanders and officers of the English army contributed 1800*l.* out of their arrears of pay in one sum, to purchase books for the publick library. The employment of the money for that use was committed by Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Ussher, who went to England on the occasion; and there met with Sir Thomas Bodley, who was engaged in the similar occupation of procuring stores for his newly-erected library at Oxford¹⁶. There was a friendly intercommunion between the two parties in assisting each other with scarce and valuable works: and it is a pleasing reflection to the members of the two universities in after times, as it was to the delegates of each at the time, that the Bodleian Library of Oxford, and the Library of the University of Dublin, designed as they were, each in its respective sphere, to be the instruments of disseminating sound religion and useful learning over the church and empire, began together with an interchange of mutual kind offices.

Trinity College Library and Bodleian Library contemporaneous.

¹⁵ BERNARD'S *Life of Ussher*, p. 40.

¹⁶ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 100.

On the 24th of March, 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, after a reign of more than forty-four years, productive of less religious improvement in her Irish dominions, and of less accession to the well-being of the Church of Ireland, than piety might have reasonably anticipated. Over what portions of the country, and to what amount of its population, the Church had been during that interval extended, it were difficult to affirm; probably her influence was not great beyond the most cultivated and civilized parts, and even in those not entirely predominant. The royal supremacy, indeed, was established; and wholesome laws had been enacted for the celebration of her pure worship of God, and for sound religious instruction: and many efforts were made, sometimes of a publick and at others of a private kind, sometimes by constraint and at others by persuasion, to bring the professors of a corrupt faith and idolatrous worship into her fold. But these were strenuously counteracted by the edicts and emissaries of the Bishop of Rome; by the perseverance of the native Romish priesthood, and their associates from abroad; by the rebellious spirit of the Irish chieftains, which kept the kingdom in a state of constant commotion; and by the absence of social good order, and habits of moral culture in the people. That at the head of the Church, and in the offices of her ministry, had been placed men of distinguished zeal, ability, and knowledge, suited to the exigency of the times, may have been the fact, but it does not satisfactorily appear. Ossory, indeed, may mention among its bishops the name of Nicholas Walsh, in honourable competition with that of Bale, his more renowned predecessor: but I know not that Dublin can produce a candidate to rival the professional devotion

Death of Queen Elizabeth.
March 24, 1603.

Summary view
of the Church of
Ireland during
her reign.

and energy of Archbishop Browne. Meanwhile, notwithstanding partial efforts for the supply of the defect, an avenue to the understanding of the great mass of the population was needed through the medium of a common language in the Church and the people; and from the indisputable evidence of Sir Henry Sidney, about the middle of the queen's reign, and from that of Spenser and Sir Francis Bacon towards the close of it, we learn how deficient was the Church in material buildings for the celebration of her worship, and in ministers to celebrate it. That the queen and her English government were not ignorant of these defects, evidence exists in the communications, which passed between them, and the persons intrusted with the local administration of Irish affairs. Whether they were actuated by that earnest desire which ought to have prompted them to activity in the cause of God and of his truth, but were impeded in their efforts by obstacles insurmountable; or whether they were not fully alive to their duty, and not properly strenuous in the execution of it; different judgments may be formed: but unhappily, in either case, the melancholy fact is upon record, that sufficient provision was not made for the ministrations of the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF

KING JAMES THE FIRST 1603—1625.

HENRY USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

AND PRIMATE 1613.

CHRISTOPHER HAMPTON, ARCHBISHOP OF

ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE 1613—1625.

SECTION I.

Favourable circumstances at the King's accession. Popish disturbances notwithstanding. Proclamation of Indemnity and Oblivion. Efforts of the Jesuits and Seminary Priests. Trial and conviction of Robert Lalor. Progress of Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, through three Counties of Ulster. Sir John Davies's account of their condition.

THE first occurrences, in the reign of King James the First, relative to the state of religion in Ireland, afforded an ill omen of future tranquillity to the Church, notwithstanding many circumstances conspired to render probable a more peaceable state of things. The royal family of the Stuarts, from whom the new king descended, was partly of Irish blood: and the sovereign himself was not only of Irish extraction, but of the royal line, and entitled by the Irish law to be King of Ireland. Thus the jealousy, which the natives had entertained of the English domination, was calculated to be allayed by the consideration of their now becoming the subjects of their rightful hereditary king.

Natural connexion of the king with Ireland.

The state of the country also was such as to

State of the
country favour-
able to tran-
quillity.

preclude the apprehension of fresh outrages for the present. The great lords had submitted to the royal authority; the number of native Irish had been greatly diminished by their many, prolonged, and obstinate rebellions: the remainder in the rural districts were in such a condition of poverty, that the men of property had not wherewithal to stock or cultivate their land, nor had any improvements left upon their estates, except perhaps a dismal castle and a few pitiful cabins. Such a miserable condition of things required a long interval of rest and peace for its amendment: and gave additional ground of expectation that people would live peaceably and loyally under a new king of their own favourite lineage.

Question con-
cerning the obe-
dience due to a
Protestant king.

But a question had been submitted to the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, "Whether an Irish Papist may obey or assist his Protestant king?" And this question had been about this time resolved by them in the negative by the two following assertions: "1st, That since the Earl of Tyrone undertook the war for religion, and by the Pope's approbation, it was as meritorious to aid him against the hereticks, as to fight against the Turks." "And 2nd, That it was a mortal sin in any way to assist the English against him; and that those, who did so, could have neither absolution nor salvation, without deserting the hereticks, and repenting for so great a crime¹."

Irritation conse-
quent in the
answers of the
universities.
1693.

This new declaration, aided by the activity of their restless priests, threw the Irish Papists again into a state of irritation; which showed itself first at Cork on the arrival of the commissioners, who had been sent thither by the Lord Deputy, the Lord

¹ Cox's *History*, vol. ii. 3.

Mountjoy, in common with the other cities and boroughs, to make proclamation of the accession of King James. After some apparent hesitation and delay on the part of the mayor and his brethren, in allowing the proclamation to be made, they in the end assumed an attitude of decided resistance, hostility, and rebellion; and took military measures for setting up their religion by force. In pursuance of this object, they carried the cross in procession about the city, and forced all persons to reverence it; they ejected the ministers of the reformed faith from their churches, defaced the sentences of Scripture which were written on the church walls, and painted the places with pictures; they re-consecrated the churches, and went daily in procession; they seized those religious houses which had been converted to civil uses; they paraded the city in attendance on the ecclesiasticks, who led them on clothed in the habits of their respective orders; they also took the sacrament to spend their lives in the defence of the Roman Catholick religion; they disarmed such Protestants as were in their power, shot at the episcopal palace and threatened to murder the bishop, and actually killed a Protestant minister; and having been taught by a seditious priest, "that he could not be a lawful king who was not approved by the Pope, nor sworn to maintain the Catholick religion," they took a resolution in publick council to excite the other cities and towns to confederate with them for the preservation of the Catholick faith.

Disturbances at
Cork;

Other cities and towns showed symptoms of the same rebellious and anti-Protestant spirit. At Waterford, they pulled down their Recorder from the cross, where he was reading the proclamation of the king's accession: they broke open the doors of

At Waterford;

At Clonmell and
Wexford ;

At Limerick ;

At Kilkenny.

Lord Deputy's
progress through
the disturbed
districts.

the hospital, and admitted a Dominican friar to preach a seditious sermon in St. Patrick's Church, where among other injurious aspersions on the late queen, he said "That Jezebel was dead." They also took the keys of the cathedral from the sexton, and caused a priest to celebrate mass there. The towns of Clonmell and Wexford, were not free from the like insolences ; but being weaker and less populous, they became sooner sensible of their danger, if not of their fault, and more promptly restored the churches to the Protestants. Limerick, on the other hand, was one of the most forward and daring in the insurrection, and gave the priests the possession of all the churches, where they erected altars, and publickly celebrated mass. The religious at Kilkenny were not less precipitate and arrogant than their brethren elsewhere. A Dominican headed the sedition in that city ; and broke open the Black-friars, which had for some time been used as a court-house, and pulled down the seats, and erected an altar, forced the keys of his house from the occupier of that part of the abbey, and gave possession of the whole abbey to the friars, although by Act of Parliament it had been turned into a lay-fee, and by legal conveyances became the property of others.

These rebellious proceedings rendered it necessary for the Lord Deputy to undertake a progress into Munster. Waterford, after ineffectually claiming some privilege founded upon an ancient charter, tamely opened its gates : having previously sent a young Dominican friar, to discourse with his lordship in matters of religion, and to explain the grounds and reasons of their proceedings ; when the friars had the confident audacity to come in their habits,

with the crucifix exalted before them, and to tell the Lord Deputy, "That the citizens of Waterford could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the Catholick faith."

After sending a letter to Cork, announcing his approach, in which, amongst other things, he charged them on their allegiance "to desist from publick breach of his majesty's laws in the celebration of mass prohibited by the same, and to yield due obedience to his magistrates," he was received into Cork also without resistance, where the inhabitants, as well as those of Waterford had been, were compelled to take the oath of allegiance, and to abjure all foreign dependencies. He did the same at Limerick, and thence proceeded to Cashel, where he understood that a certain priest had bound a Protestant goldsmith to a tree, and threatened to burn him and his heretick books; that he had really burned some of the books, and kept the man in that miserable condition for six hours, expecting every minute that fire should be set to the fagots; nothing, however, is recorded of his punishment, so that the criminal appears to have made his escape².

Restoration of
tranquillity.

Thence the Lord Deputy returned to Dublin, where, in the hope of quieting the people, and laying them under an obligation to loyalty, and inducing them to an industrious, peaceful, and regular mode of life, he issued a proclamation of general indemnity and oblivion; and restored all persons, not attainted, to their former possessions; and prohibited private actions for trespass committed during the war. Acting on the same principles as his deputy, the king was induced to show marks of favour to some of the Irish chiefs; and by these

Proclamation of
indemnity and
oblivion.

² Cox, ii. pp. 4—8.

Encroachments
of the Irish
resisted by the
king.

concessions and indulgences, "which," observes Cox, "the Irish commonly interpret to be granted to them more from fear than love, they were encouraged to petition the king for toleration of the Popish religion. But the king thought it enough, that the penal laws against that religion were not put in execution, but rather were in effect suspended by a connivance, which differed little from a toleration; and finding he had to do with a people that never missed anything for want of asking, but were apt to take the ell if he gave the inch, he became the more reserved in his concessions to the Irish from thenceforward³."

Sir Arthur
Chichester, lord
deputy, 1604.

Activity of the
Jesuits in with-
drawing the
Papists from the
churches.

Act of Uniformity
carried into
effect in Dublin.

In 1604, Sir Arthur Chichester was, for the first time, sworn in lord deputy of Ireland. Until this time the Papists had generally attended divine service in the churches, and were known by the name of Church-Papists. But now the Jesuits and other seminary priests busied themselves greatly in dissuading the people from so doing, notwithstanding the Act of Uniformity, and the king's proclamation founded thereupon. The Lord Deputy and Council in consequence convened before them the aldermen of Dublin, and some of the principal citizens, and endeavoured by persuasions and lenity to draw them to their duty. And forasmuch as some material difference was found between the original record and the printed copies of the Act of Uniformity, in order that none might plead ignorance of the original record, they exemplified the statute under the great seal, and published it; and added thereunto the king's injunction for its observance. But these gentle measures being ineffectual, sixteen of the

³ Cox, ii. 9.

most eminent of the city were summoned to the Court of Castle-Chamber; of whom nine of the chief were censured, and six of the aldermen fined one hundred pounds, and three fifty pounds each. These were all committed to the Castle during the pleasure of the court; and an order was made that none of the citizens should bear office till they conformed. The week following the rest were censured in the same manner, except one alderman, who conformed. The fines were allotted to the repairs of such churches as had been damaged by the accidental blowing-up of gunpowder in 1596, to the relieving of poor scholars in the college, and to other charitable uses⁴.

Meanwhile the priests arrogated to themselves the privilege, not only of taking offence at the publick administration of affairs, but also of reviewing and deciding causes which had been determined in the king's courts, and of compelling their subjects, on pain of damnation, to obey their decisions, and not those of the law. In concurrence with these seditious encroachments on the legitimate authorities of the kingdom, they forbade the people to attend the Protestant churches; they publicly built anew churches for their own use; they seized on some of the parish-churches by violence; and they erected or repaired abbeys and monasteries in several parts of the kingdom: especially at Multifernam, in the county of Westmeath; at Killeconnell, in the county of Galway; at Rossariell, in the county of Mayo; at Buttevant, Kilkrea, and Timoleague, in the county of Cork; at Quin, in the county of Clare; at Garinlough, in Desmond; and in the cities of Waterford and Kilkenny; intending, as an historian of their

Interference of
the priests with
the administra-
tion of justice.

Their exertions
for restoring
Popery.

⁴ *History of Dublin*, v. i. p. 202.

own represents it, "to restore the splendour of religion:" and as many Papists as pleased sent their children to foreign seminaries for education without control⁵.

They claim the king to be of their religion.

Proclamation for the Popish clergy to leave the kingdom.
July, 1605.

Faintly administered.

Bull of encouragement from the Pope.

But not satisfied with these indulgences, they had moreover the folly, as well as the impudence, to proclaim in all places, and in every company, "That the king was of their religion." Thus the government considered itself necessarily constrained to interfere for the vindication of his majesty from so groundless an imputation, as well as for impeding the growth of Popery, and suppressing the insolence of the Papists. And accordingly on the 4th of July, 1605, a proclamation was issued, commanding the Popish clergy to depart from the kingdom before the 16th of the following December, unless they would conform to the laws of the land. But whatever apparent severity may at any time have marked the laws against Popery in Ireland, they have not been executed with corresponding strictness. And such was the case with this proclamation, which was faintly administered: and thus, whilst it furnished the Irish Papists with a topick of complaint to their continental partizans, it had little effect in relieving the kingdom from their unlawful practices. At the same time, in these they were encouraged by a bull from the Pope, dated the 7th of December, 1605, containing an exhortation and remission to the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, and declaring it as safe to sacrifice unto idols as to be present at the common prayer. He therein also promised them aid of great force of Romans, Germans, and Spanish, by the next harvest, and great store of arms to resist their governors⁶!

⁵ Cox, ii. 10.

⁶ MS. Lottus, Marsh's Library.

One person, however, Robert Lalor, vicar-general, so called by his assumed title, of Dublin and other dioceses in Leinster, was apprehended in 1606, for disobedience to this proclamation; and was in Michaelmas term indicted upon the statute of the 2nd of Elizabeth, chapter 1, for advancing and upholding foreign jurisdiction within this realm. But he humbled himself to the court; and voluntarily, and upon oath, on the 22nd of December, made recognition in these words:

Apprehension of
Robert Lalor,
1606.

First, he doth acknowledge, that he is not a lawful vicar-general in the diocese of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns, and thinketh in his conscience that he cannot lawfully take upon him the said office.

His recognition.

"*Item*, he doth acknowledge our Sovereign Lord King James, that now is, to be his lawful, chief, and supreme governour in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil; and that he is bound in conscience to obey him in all the said causes; and that neither the Pope, nor any other foreign prelate, prince, or potentate, hath any power to control the king in any cause, ecclesiastical or civil, within this kingdom, or any of his majesty's dominions.

"*Item*, he doth in his conscience believe, that all bishops ordained and made by the king's authority, within any of his dominions, are lawful bishops; and that no bishops made by the Pope, or by any authority derived from the Pope, within the king's dominions, hath any power or authority to impugn, disannul, or control any act done by any bishop made by his majesty's authority, as aforesaid.

"*Item*, he professeth himself willing and ready to obey the king, as a good and obedient subject ought to do, in all his lawful commandments; either concerning his function of priesthood, or any other duty belonging to a good subject."

On this confession he was indulged with more liberty, and with the free access of his friends; and

His private
denial of his
recognition.

undoubtedly would have been liberated the next term, if he had not privately denied what he had done publicly; protesting that his acknowledgment of the king's authority did not extend to spiritual, but was confined to temporal causes only.

His indictment
on the statute of
premunire.

The Lord Deputy being informed of this his prevarication, it was resolved to try him upon the statute of premunire, of the 16th year of Richard II., chapter 5; and the resolution was discreetly taken, to indict him upon that rather than upon any new statute passed since the Reformation, in order that the Irish might be convinced, "That even popish kings and parliaments thought the Pope an usurper of those exorbitant jurisdictions which he claimed; and thought it inconsistent with the loyalty of a good subject, to uphold or advance his unjust and unreasonable encroachments on the prerogative of the king, and the privilege of a subject, which tended to nothing less than to make our kings his lacquies, our nobles his vassals, and our commons his slaves and villains." Upon this indictment, then, he was tried and found guilty. In the course of his trial the recognition or confession, which he had voluntarily made upon oath, was publicly read. This nettled him exceedingly; the rather because he was asked whether he had not to some of his friends denied that confession. He answered that he had not; and that he had only told some of them that he had not acknowledged the king's supremacy in spiritual causes; and this he affirmed was true, for the word in the confession was "ecclesiastical." Upon this the Attorney-General learnedly descanted upon the words "ecclesiastical" and "spiritual," and exposed the knavery and silliness of the prisoner's equivoca-

His equivoca-
tion,

tion; and then the sentence of the law was pronounced upon him: but it does not appear to have been ever executed⁷. And sentence.

In the summer of the year 1607, the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, formed a resolution to visit three counties in Ulster, namely, Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan, which, being the most unsettled and unreformed parts of that province, appeared particularly to need his lordship's visitation at that time. Several circumstances of the ecclesiastical condition of those parts were brought under notice by that visitation, which accordingly requires our special attention. Visitation of three counties in Ulster by the Lord Deputy. 1607.

On the 17th of July the Lord Deputy commenced his journey, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Oliver Lambert, Sir Garret Moore, and Sir John Davies, the attorney-general for Ireland: to the last of whom we are indebted for the following intelligence, communicated in a letter to Robert Earl of Salisbury. The first night, being Saturday, and the following, they lodged at the abbey of Mellifont, in the county of Louth, formerly belonging to the Cistercians, and granted at the Dissolution to the ancestor of Sir Garret Moore, who had fixed his residence here, making the abbey a place of magnificence and delight, and, at the same time, of defence, bordering, as it did, immediately on the Irish rebels^a. Narrative of the journey, by Sir John Davies.
Abbey of Mellifont.

But similar accommodation was not expected as they proceeded; and, accordingly, provision was made for their exigencies, somewhat after the manner of a military progress. "On Monday night," says the narrator, "his lordship camped in the fields, upon Provision for the journey.

⁷ Cox, ii. 10, 11.

^a ARCHDALL'S *Monasticon*, p. 489.

the borders of Ferney, which is the inheritance of the Earl of Essex; and, albeit, we were to pass through the wastest and wildest parts of all the North, yet had we only for our guard six or seven score foot, and fifty or three score horse, which is an argument of a good time, and of a confident Deputy. For, in former times, when the state enjoyed the best peace and security, no Lord Deputy did ever venture himself into those parts without an army of eight hundred or a thousand men."

Monaghan.

In this manner they proceeded to the town of Monaghan, where full inquiry was made into the civil state of the country. After which the narrative goes on to report the following investigation, concerning ecclesiastical matters, with its result^o.

Its ecclesiastical condition investigated.

"When we had delivered the gaol, we impannelled another jury, to inquire into the state of the Church in that county, (Monaghan,) giving them these special articles in charge, namely, how many parish churches there were in that county; who were patrons; who were incumbents; which of the churches were sufficiently repaired; and what damaged; of what yearly value they were; what glebe, tythes, or other duties belonged unto the Church; and who took the profits thereof.

Commission for such investigation.

"This we did by virtue of that great commission which was sent out of England, about twelve months since, whereby the commissioners have authority, among other things, to inquire of these points; and thereupon to take order for the re-edifying and repairing of the churches, and for the placing of sufficient incumbents therein. This point of that commission was not before time put in execution anywhere, albeit it was sundry times moved at the council table, that somewhat might be done therein. But my lords, the bishops, that sit at the board, being not very well pleased that laymen should intermeddle with ecclesiastical

^o *Letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury, 1607.—Tracts, p. 227. Dublin, 1787.*

affairs, did ever answer that motion in this manner: 'Let us alone in that business: take you no care for that: we will see it effected, we warrant you.' Notwithstanding, there hath been so little care taken, as that the greatest part of the churches within the pale lie still in their ruins; so as the common people, whereof many, without doubt, would conform themselves, have no place to resort unto, where they may hear divine service. This consideration moved us to inquire of the state of the Church in these unreformed counties. The inquisition presented unto us in this county was in Latin, because the principal jurors were vicars and clerks. It appeared that the churches, for the most part, are utterly waste; that the king is patron of all; and that their incumbents are popish priests, instituted by bishops authorized from Rome; yet many of them, like other old priests of Queen Mary's time in England, ready to yield to conformity.

Destitute
condition of the
churches.

"When we had received this particular information, it was thought meet to reserve it, and to suspend and stay all proceedings thereupon, until the Bishop of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, (which three dioceses comprehend the greatest part of Ulster, albeit they be now united for one man's benefit,) shall arrive out of England; whose absence, being two years since he had been elected by his majesty, hath been the chief cause that no course hath been hitherto taken to reduce this poor people to Christianity, and therefore *majus peccatum habet*¹⁰."

Consequence of
the bishop's
absence.

Monaghan is in the diocese of Clogher, which see had been vacated in 1570, by the translation of its bishop, who had received from it little or no emolument during his incumbency: and it had afterwards continued vacant for many years, in consequence of the rebellions and protracted wars which had been perpetually harassing that country. But, in 1605, George Mountgomery, a native of Scotland, and Dean of Norwich, was advanced by King James to the bishoprick of Clogher, as also to those of

Long continued
vacancy of the
see of Clogher.

Appointment of
George Mount-
gomery.

¹⁰ As above, p. 240.

His culpable
absence,

Derry and Raphoe, neither of which had been occupied for many years, most probably from the same cause. It appears, however, that the bishop, after a lapse of two years, had not yet entered on the discharge of his episcopal duties; and his neglect is indicated as the chief cause of the spiritual destitution of his diocese, and branded, as we have seen by the relater, for "the greatness of the sin." It does not appear, however, that any measures had been taken by the ruling powers for correcting his fault, and remedying the consequent evils which were felt by his people and the church. The poverty, indeed, of the see of Clogher was soon after removed by the munificence of the king, who, together with many other grants, annexed to the bishoprick the abbey of Clogher, and its revenues, so as to render it one of the most opulent bishopricks in Ireland. Notwithstanding which, Bishop Mountgomery, on surrendering the two sees of Derry and Raphoe, in 1610, was permitted to undertake the administration of that of Meath, which he held together with Clogher until his death, in 1620. He had also remained in possession of his deanery of Norwich till September, 1614¹¹.

And plurality of
bishopricks.

But to proceed with the Lord Deputy on his journey.

Lord Deputy's
encampment at
Clunes,

"From Monaghan," says Sir John Davies, "we went the first night to the ruins of the abbey of Clunes, where we camped, and passing from thence through ways almost impassable for our carriages, by reason of the woods and bogs, we came the second night after to the south side of Loughrea, and pitched our tents over against the island of Devenish, a place being prepared for the holding of our sessions for Fermanagh in the ruins of the abbey there¹²."

And at Fer-
managh.

¹¹ WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 138, 156.

¹² DAVIES'S *Tracts*, p. 243.

At Fermanagh, the civil investigation was first proceeded with. After which,

"We made like inquisition here," the narrative continues, "touching ecclesiastical livings, as we had done in Monaghan. The erecting of a free school in this county was deferred till the coming of the Bishop of Clogher. The building of a gaol and sessions-house was likewise respited, until my Lord Deputy had resolved of a fit place for a market and corporate town: for the habitations of this people are so wild and transitory, as there is not one fixed village in all this county¹³."

Lord Deputy's plans of improvement.

Wildness of the country.

Thus far the Lord Deputy's inquiries had been limited to the diocese of Clogher. We next find him in that of Kilmore, which, during the fourteen years that followed the promotion of Bishop Garvey to the primacy, in 1589, had, from the confusion of the times, continued without a pastor. But, in 1603, the vacancy in this, and in the contiguous see of Ardagh, was supplied by the appointment of Robert Draper. On which occasion the Privy Seal sets forth,

Diocese of Kilmore.

Vacancy filled after a long interval.

"That the king was well pleased to bestow the said bishopricks upon him, having received testimony of his sufficient learning and honest conversation to be meet to supply those places, in regard that he was well acquainted with the conditions and dispositions of that people, and was able to instruct them in the Irish tongue, and thereby likely to do more good among them in his said function. Because the revenues were become so small by the intolerable oppression of the Irish rebels, the king annexed the rectory of Trim, of which he was incumbent¹⁴."

Reasons of Bishop Draper's appointment.

This honourable testimony to the character of Bishop Draper does not prepare us for what follows, as to the condition of his diocese, in Sir JOHN DAVIES'S *Narrative*.

¹³ As above, p. 261.

¹⁴ Rot. Pat. Jac. I,

Poverty of
Cavan.

"We came to Cavan, and pitched our tents on the south side of that poor Irish town."

Improprate
parsonages.

"The state of the lay possessions being discovered, we did not omit to inquire of the number and value of the parsonages and vicarages, of the reparation of the churches, and of the quality of their incumbents: by which inquisition we found, that the greatest number of parsonages were appropriated unto two great abbeys, lying within the English pale; namely, the Abbey of Fower, in Westmeath, granted to the Baron of Delwyn, and the Abbey of Kells, whereof one Gerard Flemynge is farmer. To the first of these fourteen parsonages within this county are appropriate, and to the other eight; besides these are two or three more belonging in like manner to the Abbey of Cavan, in this county, being now in possession of Sir James Dillon. As for the vicarages, they are so poorly endowed, as ten of them being united will scarce suffice to maintain an honest minister. For the churches, they are for the most part in ruins; such as were presented to be in reparation, are covered only with thatch. But the incumbents, both parsons and vicars, did appear to be such poor, ragged, ignorant creatures, (for we saw many of them in the camp,) as we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of those livings, albeit many of them are not worth above 40s. per annum.

Vicarages poorly
endowed.

Ruinous state of
churches.

Poverty and
ignorance of
incumbents.

Neglect of the
bishop.

"This country doth lie within the diocese of Kilmore, whose bishop (Robert Draper) was, and is, parson of Trym, in Meath, which is the best parsonage in all the kingdom; and is a man of this country birth, worth well nigh 400*l.* a year. He doth live now in these parts, where he hath two bishopricks: but there is no divine service or sermon to be heard within either of his dioceses. His lordship might have saved us this labour of inquiry, touching matters ecclesiastical, if he had been as careful to see the churches repaired and supplied with good incumbents, as he is diligent in visiting his barbarous clergy, to make benefit out of their insufficiency, according to the proverb, which is common in the mouth of one of our great bishops here: 'that an Irish priest is better than a milch cow'¹⁵."

¹⁵ DAVIES'S *Tracts*, p. 266.

Sir John Davies concludes his curious and interesting account of this journey, with certain reflections, of which those that relate to ecclesiastical matters may be properly transcribed.

Sir J. Davies's reflections on the journey.

"If my Lord Deputy do finish these beginnings, and settle these counties, as I assure myself he will, this will prove the most profitable journey for the service of God and his majesty, and the general good of this kingdom, that hath been made in the time of peace by any deputy these many years. For first his lordship having gotten a true and clear understanding of the state of the clergy in these parts, many will take a direct speedy course for the planting of religion among these rude people, who are apt to take any impression: for his lordship knowing the number and value of the benefices in every county, may cause an union, or rather a sequestration, to be made of so many as will make a competent living for a sole minister; then may he give order for building of as many churches as there shall be competent livings for ministers in that county. And this preparation being made, his lordship may lastly provide sufficient incumbents to serve the churches." "Besides, the crown is restored to all the patronages of ecclesiastical promotions, which heretofore were usurped by the Pope, and utterly neglected by the state here¹⁶."

Improvement of benefices recommended as to churches and ministers.

How far these favourable anticipations were realized, may be well doubted. In particular, the state of these dioceses will again call for our attention on occasion of a royal commission, about fifteen years later; and especially the united dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh will fall under consideration when we arrive at the period of Bishop Bedell's appointment to them about twenty-two years after the date of Sir John Davies's narrative. It may here, however, be remarked in passing, that the principle of "instructing the people of those wild parts in the Irish tongue," as the means of being "likely to do more

Remark on the principle of instructing the people in the Irish tongue.

¹⁶ DAVIES, p. 268, 269.

good among them," was professed and acted upon by King James in the appointment of Bishop Draper to this diocese; a principle which, it may be likewise observed, had been acted upon at various periods in the most uncivilized parts of Ireland, not indeed by an uniform provision, but probably by many more individuals, and to a considerably greater degree, than those, who have not investigated the details of Irish ecclesiastical history, may suppose.

SECTION II.

Conspiracies and Rebellions in the North. Forfeiture of Lands. Plantation of the Northern Counties. The King's Care for the Improvement of the Religious Establishment. Emigrants from Scotland. Their prepossessions, and the effect of them on the Church. Proclamation against Popish Emissaries. Report of his Diocese by the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.

Conspiracy of
Irish nobles in
Ulster, 1607.

IN 1607 a formidable conspiracy, encouraged by the indulgences, which were interpreted into the weakness of the crown, was formed by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, the Lord Macguire, and other Irish nobles and great proprietors of Ulster, for surprising the castle of Dublin, and murdering the Lord Deputy and council, and thus establishing their own independent authority. The conspiracy being discovered, the conspirators endeavoured to escape. Some, however, were taken and executed; and others, who had fled, being indicted on a special commission for their trial, were outlawed¹.

Their vindication
that they had
been persecuted
for their religion.

In their vindication they alleged, that they had been injuriously treated, and especially had been persecuted for religion; but they were answered by

¹ Cox, ii. 12.

a declaration from the king, published in November the same year, which repelled the allegation of injurious treatment; and with respect to their other plea observed, "that there was not any purpose of proceeding against them in matters of religion, their condition being to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man valiant who does not glory in rapine and oppression; and therefore 'twere unreasonable to trouble them for religion, before it could be perceived by their conversation they had any; . . . that they did stir up sedition and intestine rebellion in the kingdom; and sent their instruments, priests and others, to make offers to foreign states for their assistance; and that, under the condition of being made free from the English government, they resolved also to comprehend the extirpation of all those subjects now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended of English race."

Answered by the king's declaration.

But, although it were difficult to perceive from the conversation of these rebels, that they had, properly speaking, "any religion," yet religion, nevertheless, such as it was, was undoubtedly a powerful agent in their rebellions: for it was not to no purpose, that the judgment of the Spanish universities of Salamanca and Valladolid had convinced all the Popish clergy of "the unlawfulness of assisting an heretical prince or people against the Church;" or that the priests, acting in conformity with the principle of the judgment, fomented and encouraged the rebellion, which was still prosecuted under the conduct of other Popish chiefs, by affirming, "That all were martyrs who died in that service."

Rebellion instigated by religion.

Nor were equivocal symptoms of the religious sentiments of the conspirators given, when in the

Symptoms of the religious sentiments of the conspirators.

year 1608, on the surprise and capture of Culmore, or Kilmore, and its magazine, by Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, he "burnt two thousand heretical books, as he called them, refusing to let them be redeemed for an hundred pounds;" or when after taking, with little or no resistance, the neighbouring fort and town of Derry, and having plundered it, and burnt it to ashes, he murdered the governor and all the Protestants, except the bishop's wife, who with her children was taken prisoner, and afterwards was allowed to be ransomed.

Outlawry of the
rebels.
1608.

Plantation of the
northern
counties.

In consequence of these rebellions, the last of which was brought to a close in 1608, by an accidental shot, which ended the life of Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, some of the rebels, on whom the king had formerly tried in vain the effect of pardon, and restoration to their property, were now outlawed, and they and the rest were afterwards attainted by parliament. By this judgment, large tracts of land, to the amount of 511,465 acres of the Irish or plantation measure, equivalent to 818,344 acres of the English statute measure, in the counties of Donegall, Tyrone, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, were forfeited or escheated to the crown: part of which was again by the crown bestowed for various uses connected with the church, such as glebe lands for ecclesiastical dignitaries and other incumbents, for the college of Dublin, and for free-schools; and, amongst other modes of distribution, the largest portion, assigned to any one purpose, was that of 209,800 plantation acres, or 335,680 statute measure, for "the Londoners and other undertakers," on the special agreement that "they should not suffer any labourer, that would not take

the oath of supremacy, to dwell upon their lands." Provision was made for building the towns of Derry and Coleraine, by the city of London, in 1611; but on trial the accomplishment of this undertaking was found impracticable, so that more time was allowed for the former, which was actually completed by the Londoners, under the compound appellation of London-Derry, in 1617. Provision was also made for convenient plots of ground to be assigned to the Bishop and Dean of Derry for their houses; and that the city should have the whole territory of Glancanken and Killetragh in the county of Coleraine, and the patronage of the churches.

Oath of supremacy to be taken by every labourer.

Building of London-Derry, and Coleraine.

The king had found the estate of the bishopricks in Ulster, much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops; partly by the challenge, which the late temporal Irish lords made to the Church's patrimony within their countries, thereby to discourage all men of worth and learning, through want of a maintenance, to undertake the care of those places, and to continue the people in ignorance and barbarism, the more easily to lead them into their own measures; and partly by the claims of patentees, who, under the colour of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the Church lands, not excepting even the site of cathedral churches, and places of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating of his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts.

Bad condition of the bishopricks in Ulster;

And of the cathedrals;

Nor were the parochial churches in a better condition than the cathedrals. They had, most of them in the country, been destroyed in the troubles, or fallen down for want of covering: the livings were very small; and either kept in the bishop's hands by

And parish churches.

Neglect of divine service and pastoral instruction.

Remedy provided by the king.

way of *commendams*, and sequestrations, or else filled with ministers as scandalous as their incomes: so that scarce any care was taken to catechise the children, or instruct others in the grounds of religion: and for years together, divine service had not been used in any parish church throughout Ulster, except in some city or principal towns.

To remedy these abuses, and to make a proper provision for the instruction of the people, and for reducing them to a conformity in religion, the king ordered, that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches; and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical, out of which the bishops had at any time formerly received rents or pensions: that compositions should be made with the patentees for the site of cathedral churches, the houses of residence of bishops and dignitaries, and other church lands, which were never intended to be conveyed to them: an equivalent to be allowed to the patentee, if he conformed willingly; if not, the patent to be vacated by due course of law, the king being deceived in his grant, and the possessions to be restored to the Church. And, to provide for the inferior clergy, he engaged the bishops to give up all their impropriations, and relinquish the tythes, paid them out of parishes, to the respective incumbents, making them an ample recompense with grants of his own lands.

Parochial allotments.

He caused every proportion, allotted to the undertakers, to be made a parish, and a parochial church to be erected therein; the incumbent whereof was, besides all the tythes and duties of each parish, to have a glebe set out for him, of sixty, ninety, or one hundred and twenty acres, according to the size of the parish, and the proportion of which it con-

sisted; and this to be laid out, before any allotment was made to others, in the most convenient place, and the nearest adjoining to the parish church.

To provide likewise for a succession of worthy men to fill these churches, he erected and endowed free schools in the principal towns; he made considerable grants of lands to the college, founded by Queen Elizabeth at Dublin; and vested in it the advowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the middle, proportion in each county².

Provision for
ministers.

Moreover he required, that "every of the said undertakers, English and Scotch, before the ensembling of his letter, should take the oath of supremacy, either in the Chancery of England, or before the commissioners appointed for establishing the plantation; and should also conform themselves in religion according to his majesty's laws³."

Conformity in
religion required
of all under-
takers.

Notwithstanding, however, the regard, thus shown by the king for the well-being of the Church, and for the maintenance of the established religion, of this plantation there was one result deeply to be lamented, as disturbing the Church's peace, impeding her progress, and diminishing her power of promoting religious improvement. The emigrants from Scotland, who were a numerous division of the new settlers, brought with them their own peculiar prepossessions, and were attended or followed by ministers of their own, apparently sincere and zealous, though mistaken men, earnest in maintaining and disseminating their national opinions.

Well-being of
the Church ob-
structed by this
plantation.

These opinions for the most part consisted in

² CARTE'S *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, vol. i. p. 17.

³ HARRIS'S *Hibernica*, p. 123.

Peculiar opinions
of the emigrants
from Scotland.

hostility to the primitive and apostolical form of Church government by bishops, and a partial predilection for that presbyterian model, recently invented by John Calvin at Geneva, and adopted and imported into Scotland by John Knox: in a rejection of that liturgical mode of worship, which had been transmitted from the earliest through all succeeding ages of Christianity, and was now continued in the British reformed Churches; and in an attachment to the modern fashion of devotional aspirations, uttered under the supposed immediate dictation of the Holy Spirit; in a contemptuous repudiation of several decent and orderly, innocent and edifying and ancient, signs and accompaniments of divine worship, and a studied affectation of a bare, an abstract, and frigid simplicity in the service of God in a condemnation of the aboriginal and hereditary sentiments, practice, and authority of Christ's Catholick Church, as the interpreter of God's holy word, and in a professed reverence for that word alone as the guide to religious truth, not however independent of the freedom of private judgment, carried to an undue and dangerous extent, or of the system of some favourite reformer, who had acquired over their minds and opinions little less than a papal control.

Scotch congregations formed on these principles.

Under the influence of such prejudices as these, congregations were formed by the new comers from Scotland in the northern counties of Ireland, opposed to the principles and provisions, and estranged from the communion, of the Church.

Settlement of the
Scots in Ireland
legalized by Act
of 11 James I.
c. 6.

The settlement of the Scotch Presbyterians in Ireland was not agreeable to the former inhabitants, either to the earlier occupiers, or to those of English extraction: and a special Act of Parliament was

necessary to legalize it. For down to this period in the reign of King James, there was still in force a statute, enacted in the third and fourth years of King Philip and Queen Mary, which prohibited the bringing in, retaining, or marrying of Scots. This statute continuing part of the law of the land during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, adventurers of that nation were precluded from settling in Ireland. But, in the year 1614, being the 11th of King James, this Act was repealed, and multitudes of the Scots passed over into Ulster. Presbyterian ministers were sometimes attached to these colonies, and congregations were formed, the earliest of which was at Broad Island, in the county of Antrim, in 1611, and another, about the same time, at Holywood, in the county of Down; and nearly coincident in time with these were similar meetings at Antrim and Carrickfergus, whence they spread into the adjoining counties of Armagh, Londonderry, Donegall, and Tyrone, and the other parts of Ulster⁴. At the same time there came over three ministers from England, one a pupil of the celebrated Puritan, Cartwright, patronized by the Lord Chichester, then Lord Deputy, who had been a pupil of Cartwright also, and was a favourer and encourager of the Puritans. These congregations were soon afterwards united into a system of mutual agreement and co-operation, and presbyteries formed in various districts.

Multitudes
passed over into
Ulster.

English Presby-
terians.

A schism was thus established among the Irish Protestants: a schism, opposed at the same time to all the principles and laws of the Church Catholick, and injurious to Christianity in general, but especially detrimental under the circumstances of Ireland,

A schism esta-
blished among
the Irish
Protestants.

⁴ STUART'S *History of Armagh*, p. 484. *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, p. 161.

Its pernicious
effects.

where a consentient, combined, and co-operating effort, in the one regular body of the national Church, by all the opponents of the papal errors, might have been a powerful instrument in God's hand for correcting them; and where the want of such agreement and co-operation not only weakened the power, which was otherwise capable of being brought into effectual action, but served as a positive argument for confirming the Papist in his delusions. If the Church has been less successful from that period than sound piety may have wished, in persuading Popish recusants to an acknowledgment of the truth, he who best knows the value and the weight of religious unity, and the paramount importance attributed to it by the adherents and advocates of the papacy, will best estimate the responsibility which attaches to those Protestant sectarists, who impeded the progress of the Church by renouncing and condemning her communion, and introducing into the kingdom rival religious assemblies, of which the characteristic was dissent and separation from the Church.

By what disingenuous contrivances some of these sectarists were enabled to evade the laws enacted for the protection of the Church, and to insinuate themselves into her ministry, and to gain possession of her benefices, will be subject for future attention.

Whilst the Government was thus inconsiderately lending their assistance, in sowing the seed of modern dissent and separation from the Church, their vigilance was continually required for keeping down the shoots, which were ever and anon sprouting forth from the old stock of Popish insubordination and arrogance. In July, 1610, the former proclamation

of July the 4th, 1605, against titular bishops, Jesuits, friars, and other Romish emissaries, was revived; but it was so faintly executed, that no persons are mentioned as having been apprehended in consequence, except the titular Bishop of Down and four friars. Orders were also issued for tendering the oath of supremacy to all magistrates, justices of peace, and other officers; and to displace those who should refuse to take it⁵.

Revival of
proclamation
against Romish
emissaries.
July, 1610.

It is at about this time that an instance occurs, the first, of which I am aware, and, in this case, limited to a single diocese, of the result of an inquiry into the internal condition of the Church, made by a metropolitan, in obedience to the injunctions of the Crown. In the absence of more comprehensive documents, important information may be sometimes derived from such Diocesan Reports, which, whilst they give accurate local delineations, contribute also to throw light upon the general condition of the Church. In this respect, however, they should be applied with caution and deliberation; for there must have been numerous peculiar circumstances, to modify the state of things in the several dioceses: and much in the administration of its affairs must have depended on the views and opinions, the disposition of mind, the ability and activity, of the respective diocesans. Still it is gratifying and useful, in investigating the transactions of the times, of which most of the records are not in existence, to meet with some of these less perfect memorials; and I esteem, as a valuable document of this kind, that which occurs in the *Reports of the Commissioners of Publick Records in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 264,

Instance of a
Diocesan Report.
1612.

Value of such
reports.

⁵ Cox, ii. 17.

Return to his metropolitan's inquiries, by the bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.

being a return to inquiries of his metropolitan, made in 1612, by Thomas Ram, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, concerning many particulars in his diocese, as to the state both of popery and of the Reformed Church of Ireland. The document purports to be, "The humble Answer of Thomas, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, to his Majesty's Instructions and Interrogations, lately sent unto the Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm:" so that it must evidently have been only one of a collection of similar documents.

Title of the document.

It is intituled, "A true Account of the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, how he hath performed those duties which the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of Dublin, being his Metropolitan, undertook unto his Majesty for him and the rest of his Suffragans; made this first of September, 1612."

The bishop's manner of treating papists.

"1. Concerning the order and course, which I have holden, for the suppression of popery, and planting the truth of religion in each of my dioceses, it hath been of two sorts. First, being advised by some in authority, unto whom his Majesty's pleasure and the state of those times were better known than unto me, to carry myself in all mild and gentle manner toward my diocesans and circuits, I never (till of late) proceeded to the excommunication of any for matter of religion, but contented myself only to confer with divers of each diocese, both poor and rich, and that in the most familiar and kind manner that I could, confirming our doctrines, and confuting their assertions, by the touchstone of all truth, the Holy Scriptures.

Dislike of the poorer sort for popery.

"And for the poorer sort, some of them have not only discovered unto me privately their dislike of popery, and of the mass, in regard they understood not what is said or done therein, but also groaned under the burden of the many priests, in respect of the double tithes and offerings, the one paid by them unto us and the other unto them. Being then demanded of me, why they did not forsake the

mass, and come to church, their answer hath been, which I know to be true in some, that, if they should be of our religion, no popish merchant would employ them, being sailors, no popish landlord would let them any lands, being husbandmen, nor set them houses in tenantry, being artificers; and, therefore, they must either starve or do as they do.

“As for the gentlemen, and those of the richer sort, I have always found them very obstinate, which hath proceeded from the priests resorting unto their houses and company, and continuing to hammer them upon their superstitious anvil.”

Obstinacy of the gentry.

“Touching the second course, since his majesty signified his express pleasure, that the censures of the Church should be by us practised against recusants, after often” [here the MS. is torn, so that there are only to be read, with intervals, the words] “plain and mild manner, but all to no purpose, I” “to repair unto their parish church on days” [Then, after the word “sheriff,” the document proceeds as follows:]

The king's pleasure concerning recusants.

“I caused to be brought before me, hoping, then, that my persuasions and reasons, together with their apparent and present danger, would make them relent; myself prevailing nothing with them, I intreated their landlord, Sir Henry Wallop, to try what he could do with them, but all in vain. This done, I singled them out one by one, and afforded each of them this favour, to give them any reasonable time to bethink themselves, upon these conditions; first, that they would repair to their curate's house twice or thrice a-week, and hear our service privately in his chamber read unto them; next, that they would put me in good security for the delivery of their bodies unto the sheriff, at the end of the time to be granted, if they conformed not themselves: but they jumped all in one answer, as if they had known beforehand what offer I would tender unto them, and had been catechised by some priest, what answer to make, viz., ‘that they were resolved to live and die in that religion, and that they knew they must be imprisoned at the length, and, therefore,’ said they, ‘as good now as hereafter’.”

The bishop's persuasions with the recusants.

Their prompt and unanimous answer.

Other curious particulars in this account.

There are several other particulars mentioned in this account, which are valuable and curious, as illustrative of the general condition of the Church, so far as it may be inferred from the affairs of a single diocese.

Continual residence of the bishop.

An example of the opinions entertained concerning the discharge of episcopal duties is furnished by the statement of the bishop, that he "continually resided either in the diocese of Ferns or Leighlin, sometimes in the one and sometimes in the other; and, in whichever he had been, he had exercised the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his own person; when he was not there, his official supplied his room:" that, "having been about seven years bishop, he had every year once visited each of his dioceses in person, and had called before him his clergy in each deanery, and two, at the least, of the laity out of every parish, for sidesmen, upon their oaths, to detect all the offences and defects of ecclesiastical cognizance, committed within their several parishes, and had accordingly proceeded therein: "that, if he were authorized under the seal to tender the oath of allegiance to every man of sort within his diocese, he was most ready and willing to put it in execution, to persuade them in the best and serious manner that he could to take the oath, and duly and truly to certify the Lord Deputy, from time to time, the names both of the takers and refusers thereof:" and that "there was never any yet admitted, by him or his official, unto any spiritual living within either of his dioceses, but he did distinctly with his mouth pronounce, and," adds the bishop, "I doubt not but truly and willingly with his heart, embrace and take the oath of supremacy."

His yearly visitations.

His willingness to tender the oath of allegiance.

Oath of supremacy taken by all beneficed clergymen in his diocese.

It appears, that there were several popish priests

at this time resorting to, or harbouring in, the dioceses of Ferns and Leighlin, of whom this document enumerates sixteen in the former, and ten in the latter diocese. Each of these is mentioned with the title of "Sir" prefixed to his name; a title which is commonly understood as generally descriptive of a priest, but of which Fuller, in his *Church History*, says, "Such priests, as have the addition of *Sir* before their Christian name, were men not graduated in the university, being in *orders*, but not in *degrees*; whilst others, intituled *masters*, had commenced in the arts⁷." And this sense of the word appears probable in its application to the persons here spoken of. Of these two are particularly noted, as having been ministers of the Church: "Sir John Quiltey, a roving priest, sometime one of our clergy, but long since keeping here and there in the parishes of Old Rosse and the parishes adjoining; and Sir William Barrick, a very old man, keeping at New Rosse, in the house of William Bennett. This man, about ten years since, was one of our clergy, and was vicar of New Rosse." Another gives occasion for the following remark: "This Richard is now beginning to build a mass-house in Rosse, upon the land of his brother James. Mine humble suit is, that some present course may be taken for the hindering thereof; as also for the nailing up of the door of another chapel in that town of New Rosse, formerly built by Sir David Dowle aforesaid."

Popish priests in the dioceses.

Why intituled "Sir."

Two of them formerly ministers of the Church.

Objection made to the building of new mass-houses.

"No popish priest," observes the bishop, "hath ever been admitted either to church living or cure within either of my dioceses during my incumbency; neither, God willing, during my time ever shall."

Objection to the admitting of Popish priests.

State of the
churches.

Concerning the state of the churches in these dioceses, the following notice occurs.

Ferns not a
good situation
for the cathedral.

“All the churches within both my dioceses are builded according to the country fashion, or bonds taken for the building of those few that are unbuilded, except some few parishes, wherein there is yet little or no habitation, and except the cathedral church of Ferns, which, having been burnt by Feagh M’How in the time of rebellion, is so chargeable to re-edify, that the dean and chapter are not able to compass that work, neither is it indeed fit, that the cathedral church should be at Ferns, being now but a poor country village; but either at Wexford, or at New Rosse, being both incorporate towns, very populous of themselves, especially Wexford, and of much resort by strangers. Yet there is an ile of the cathedral church builded, wherein divine service is duly celebrated.”

Account of
schools in the
diocese.

The bishop then makes report of two schools, one in Wexford for Ferns, the other in Maryborough for Leighlin; the schoolmaster being maintained by himself and his clergy, according to the statute. “Neither,” he observes, “have I ever licensed any schoolmaster to teach, but such as have first entered bonds to teach none other books, but such as are agreeable to the king’s injunctions. But these schools, established by authority, are to small purpose, if all the Popish priests in this kingdom take that course, as in all probability they do, which a priest, called Laghlin Oge, took not long since after the celebration of his mass. For he taught the people first, that whosoever did send their children or pupils to be taught by a schoolmaster of our religion, they were excommunicated *ipso facto*, and should certainly be damned, without they did undergo great penance for their so doing. Next, (though not appertaining to [this branch]) that the infants, which were by us baptized, if they were not brought

Mischievous
interference
of the Popish
priests.

to them to be rebaptized, both the parents so doing, and the children so baptized, were damned."

"Lastly," the bishop thus continues, "though I have used my best endeavour, according to my simple skill, to reform recusants, yet have I come far short of what I ought to have done; and I must needs acknowledge myself to be an unprofitable servant. But by the grace of God I am what I am; and by the said grace assisting me, I will endeavour myself more and more to root out Popery, and to sow the seed of true religion in the hearts of all the people committed to my charge: which though I have no hope to effect as I would, yet '*est aliquid prodire tenus, cum non datur ultrá.*'"

The bishop's desire to root out Popery, and plant true religion.

The bishop, having thus answered particularly each branch of the first article of inquiry, proceeds to return, as near as he can learn, the true value, *communibus annis*, of the benefices of each diocese, and the names and qualities of present incumbents.

Value of the benefices in the diocese.

Of the bishoprick of Ferns, he states "the present incumbent to be Thomas Ram, who at his first coming to the place found it worth, by the year, one hundred marks, 66*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, sterling penny rent. But by his recovery of the manor of Fethard, by a long and chargeable suit at law, though ended by composition at length, it is now bettered per annum by 40*l.*"

Recent improvement of the bishoprick of Ferns.

"This bishoprick," he adds, "hath been worth four or five hundred pounds by the year; but by the many fee-farms made thereof by his predecessors, especially by Alexander Devereux and John Devereux to their kindred and bastards, at very small rents, it is reduced unto this small pittance aforesaid. This bishoprick of Ferns and the other of Leighlin lie both together; and the dwelling-houses of them

Injury done to it by former bishops.

both, namely Fethard (seated in the remotest part from Leighlin of the whole diocese of Ferns,) and Old Leighlin, are but twenty-seven English miles asunder."

Value of the
bishoprick of
Leighlin.

He afterwards states himself to hold the bishoprick of Leighlin, by union with that of Ferns, "*durante vitâ*, by virtue of his majesty's letters patent. The annual rent thereof is 24*l.* ster., besides the demesnes, which are very large, if the bishop might enjoy his right. But in respect they are almost all mountain ground, and much of them is withholden by the neighbours thereof, yield very little profit."

Number and
average value of
the benefices in
Ferns.

The benefices in Ferns were twenty-seven, consisting of the deanery and seven prebends; seven rectories and twelve vicarages. The value of them is given in two parallel columns, in time of peace and as reduced by rebellion. The highest value in the former time is 50*l.*, and in the latter 30*l.*; being the deanery: the next highest, respectively, is 25*l.* and 20*l.* The lowest value is 4*l.*, reduced by rebellion to 40*s.* But in one case 7*l.* is reduced to nothing. The united amount is 380*l.* or 261*l.*: yielding an average in the twenty-seven benefices of about 14*l.*, or 9*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in peace or rebellion.

Residence and
other particulars
of the incumbents.

With two or three exceptions, the incumbents were residing on their benefices. Some are specified as being "preachers," and some as being "reading ministers." One of the incumbents was "a student in Trinity College, near Dublin, aged about twenty years." Of the vicarages one was 'of so small worth, that no man would pass the patent for it, and thereupon the curate enjoyed the profit.' Seven of the incumbents are reported as "ministers of Irish birth, skilful in, or having, the English, Irish, and

Latin tongues:" two "of Irish birth, having the English and Irish."

In Leighlin were the treasurership and arch-deaconry, and four prebends, eleven rectories, and thirty-four vicarages; one of the rectories being as high as 30*l*. But the benefices in general varied between 12*l*. and 3*l*. in time of peace; but so much affected by rebellion, that twenty-five of them are returned as worth nothing. The same distinction occurs between "preachers" and "reading ministers," there being, however, very few of the former class. There were about twelve "of Irish birth, having the English, Irish, and Latin tongues." And two are mentioned of "English birth," of whom one had "some skill in the Irish tongue," and the other was "skilful" in that language. One of the vicarages was holden "*in commendam* by the Bishop of Kerry;" and two of the rectories of very small value, by two scholars respectively of sixteen and seventeen years of age, or thereabouts, "dispensed withall *gratia studii*."

Benefices and incumbents in Leighlin.

The bishop explains some of the foregoing particulars, as well as his own practice in matters connected with them, in the following observations appended to his return.

Explanation of several of the foregoing particulars.

"At my first preferment unto these bishopricks, and finding such want of clergymen within both my dioceses, especially of Leighlin, that some of the parishioners, being by me blamed for carrying their children to Popish priests to be christened, answered (though rather for excuse, as I found afterwards, in that they reformed not themselves, than for conscience sake), that they were compelled so to do, in regard they had no curate of our religion near unto them: in imitation of the reverend bishops, living in the beginning of the reign of our late queen of happy memory, I entreated three or four men of English birth, and staid

The bishop's care to provide ministers.

English,

And Irish.

His provision of
candidates for
the ministry.

carriage, and good report, being well able to give an account of their faith in the English tongue, and to instruct the people by reading, to enter orders of the Church; and provided for them first cures among the English parishes, afterward small vicarages, which they enjoy at this time, and reside upon them. And whereas two or three of the natives of this country, being well able to speak and read Irish unto their countrymen, sought unto me for holy orders, I thought likewise fit, in the great scarcity of men of that quality, to admit them thereunto (being likewise of honest life, and well reported of amongst their neighbours), and to provide them some small competency of living in the Irish parts. Furthermore, being desirous, *serere alteri seculo*, by providing a learned ministry, which shall be able to preach unto the people hereafter, I have also, according to the ancient custom of my diocese, dispensed with three or four youths of fifteen or sixteen years of age, to hold each of them a church living under ten pounds in true value *studii gratia*, having taken order with the churchmen adjoining, to discharge the cures of the same, and having had a watchful eye over these young men, that they did and do *bonâ fide* follow

[Rest of the sheet mutilated.]

Impropriations
destitute of
vicars,

The subjoined recommendâtion of the bishop's was well worthy of attention, and touched a point which has been fruitful in mischief to the Irish Church.

The Bishop of
Ferns and
Leighlin's advice
for the supply of
the defect.

“There being divers impropriations within each of my dioceses, which have no vicars endowed, whose possessioners are bound by their leases, or fee-farms to find sufficient curates: mine earnest request is, that a competent stipend may be raised out of every such impropriation, whereby the curate thereof may be maintained. And that two or three of the impropriations of small value may be united among themselves, if they be together; and a competency raised out of them all so united for an incumbent. But, if they be asunder, that then they may be united to the next parsonage or vicarage adjoining, and contribute towards the bettering thereof; provided always, that in whichever of

the united churches divine service is celebrated, thither all the parishioners of the churches united be compelled every sabbath and holyday to repair in their course and turn. Now the competency which I conceive will be fittest for the impropiators to yield, and for the curates to receive, is the small tithes of every such parish.

(Signed) "THO. FERNESS AND LEIGHLIN."

SECTION III.

Christopher Hampton advanced to the Primacy. A Parliament and Convocation of the Clergy. Articles of Religion. Summary of their contents. Their discursive character. Exceptions taken to them at the time. Their discrepancy with those of the Church of England. Regal Visitation of the Province of Dublin. Arrogant conduct of the Papists.

ON the death of Henry Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, in 1613, Christopher Hampton was advanced to the primacy, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, with three assistant bishops, on the 8th of May. He was born at Calais, had been a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, and elected to the see of Derry, the year of his elevation to the primacy. He is recorded as a prelate of great gravity and learning. A handsome palace at Drogheda, then the principal residence of the archbishops of Armagh, was indebted to him for its foundation and erection, as well as an old episcopal house at Armagh for its reparation, the addition of sundry new buildings, and the annexing to the see of three hundred acres of land near the town of Armagh, for mensal lands. By his care also the cathedral of Armagh, which had been destroyed by Shane O'Neal, was restored; the walls with their windows reconstructed, the aisles reroofed, and the steeple rebuilt,

Henry Ussher
succeeded in the
primacy by
Christopher
Hampton.
1613.

His character
and good deeds.

and again furnished with the great bell, newly cast for the occasion. And he appears to have been particularly assiduous in repairing and rebuilding the parochial churches of his diocese¹.

Opening of the
parliament.

Conduct of the
recusant nobility.

A few days after his consecration, on the opening of the parliament in great state by the Lord Deputy, Arthur, Lord Chichester, May the 13th, the primate, after divine service, preached in St. Patrick's cathedral before the other prelates and temporal peers of the realm, with the exception of the recusant nobility, who "went not into the church, neither heard divine service or sermon, notwithstanding they were lords of the parliament-house, and rode towards the church with the lords of estate: yet they stayed without during the time of service and sermon. Now when service was done, the Lord Deputy returned back to the castle: and those recusant lords joined themselves again with rest of the estate, and rode to the castle in manner as before they came from thence²."

Sir John Davies
elected speaker
of the House of
Commons.

Notwithstanding an ineffectual attempt to place in the chair of the House of Commons a Popish speaker, Sir John Davies was elected to the office: in discharging the duties of which he made an excellent speech to the Lord Deputy concerning the condition of the country, observing with regard to its former and its actual ecclesiastical state, as represented in parliament, that in former times "the bishops and archbishops, though their number was greater than now it is, in respect to the divers unions made of latter years, yet such as were resident in the more Irish countries, and did not acknowledge the king to be their patron, were never summoned

¹ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 97.

² Letter from Sir Christ. Plunket, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibern.*, i. 167.

to any parliament;" but that "this parliament is called when all the lords spiritual do acknowledge the king of England to be their undoubted patron^a." On the present occasion twenty-five spiritual lords were in attendance.

Patronage of the king acknowledged by all the spiritual peers.

Although the meeting of the parliament had been accompanied by this and some other attempts on the part of the Papists in furtherance of their own projects, it passed without any act or other occurrence particularly affecting the Church. But together with the parliament was assembled a convocation of the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy of the Church of Ireland, to deliberate solemnly with united efforts and counsels on matters relating to religion.

A convocation of the clergy.

From the language of those, who have transmitted to us this information, it should seem that the assembling of a convocation of the clergy was a customary accompaniment of the assembling of a parliament in Ireland as well as in England. Dr. Bernard and Dr. Parr, in their lives of Archbishop Ussher, relate, "Anno 1615, there was a parliament in Dublin, and so a convocation of the clergy:" apparently assuming the latter as a consequence of the former. The writer of the Archbishop's life, among Sir JAMES WARE'S *Bishops*, says, "A parliament was held in Ireland, and, according to custom, a convocation of the clergy." And this appears to be the foundation of Dr. Smith's statement, in his life of the same prelate, "*Ordinibus regni Hiberniæ parlamento Dublinii A. MDCXV. habito coactis, pro more indicta erat nationalis archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, reliquique cleri Hiberniæ*

Question whether Irish convocations were customary.

The fact asserted,

^a DAVIES'S *Tracts*, pp. 302, 306.

But question-
able.

synodus." This statement of the custom may be correct, perhaps also it may be questionable; at least I find no authority, in fact, for maintaining the existence of the custom; in other words, I cannot call to mind any earlier example than the present of a convocation being holden.

Church of Ire-
land in constant
agreement with
that of England.

To proceed, however, to the business of this convocation. The Church of Ireland, from the earliest days of the Reformation under King Edward the Sixth, and especially during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had depended in a principal degree, if not altogether, on the Church of England, and had been in agreement with that church in all things. Her bishops had been in a great measure either Englishmen, sent over from England, or the descendants of English parents, though of Irish birth. Her Liturgy, her forms of ordination, and her sacred rites and ceremonies, were the same. Her clergy practised an entire and regular conformity, so far as the different customs of the two countries would allow, to the articles and constitutions of the English Church: and whether on their admission to holy orders, or on their appointment to the cure of souls, or on their promotion to any ecclesiastical dignity, subscribed from the year 1562, the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, to the English articles of faith. In common with others, James Ussher had thus subscribed, as appears from his sermon before the parliament of England, in which he most earnestly urges all to maintain the unity and peace of the church, from this just consideration, that those very articles ought to be accounted and were the measure, rule, and ground of our communion⁴.

Irish clergy sub-
scribed the Eng-
lish Articles of
Religion.

⁴ *Vita Jacobi Usserii*, Script. THOMAS SMITH, pp. 40, 72.

But whether they wearied of their dependence, or abated of their reverence for the Church of England, there were at this time some of the clergy of the Irish Church who were ambitious of establishing an independent character; of framing articles of religion of their own, and by their own authority, and so of distinguishing themselves and their successors by their own peculiar character as a free national church. But the more powerful and the really actuating motive was that innovating spirit, which, having failed some years before in the attempt to ingraft the doctrine of Calvin on the profession of faith of the Anglican Church by means of the notorious Lambeth Articles, was now to be employed in attempting to substitute in the Irish Church a new profession, with which those articles should be incorporated.

Desire of introducing new articles.

The articles, which were accordingly now drawn up, consisted of one hundred and four paragraphs, or sections, under nineteen heads; each head being divided into several sections. Thus, for example, the first, which is entitled, "Of the Holy Scripture, and the three Creeds," is divided into seven parts, which relate, respectively, to the holy Scripture as the ground of our religion and the rule of faith; to the canonical books of the Old and New Testament; to the apocryphal books; to the translation of the Scriptures into all languages, for the common use of all men; to their clearness; to their sufficiency for salvation; and to the three creeds, as capable of being proved by most certain warrant of holy Scripture.

Their division into heads and sections.

They comprehended, "almost word for word," as stated in a notice prefixed, "the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, the 20th of November, anno

The Lambeth Articles.

Rejected in
England,

1595:" but whereas it is stated, that they were "agreed on at Lambeth," it is omitted to be added, that they were immediately suppressed by Queen Elizabeth, withdrawn by Archbishop Whitgift, and afterwards, at the instance of such men as Bishops Overall, Andrewes, and other luminaries of the English Church, disapproved and rejected by King James, when proposed to him by Dr. Reynolds, in the conference at Hampton Court. However the attempt, which had been defeated in England, was for the present more successful in Ireland. And accordingly, under the influence of James Ussher, not yet weaned from the consequences which prevailed some time after the Reformation, of studying divinity in the systems of modern divines, instead of learning the true doctrines of Christianity, and the real sense of Scripture in difficult or controverted passages, by having recourse to the guidance of the primitive Church and the writings of the early fathers, the Lambeth Articles were adopted.

Adopted in
Ireland.

Distinguished in
the general
arrangement.

Each of these Lambeth Articles, and its respective number, are pointed at by an index in the margin: the Nine Articles, sometimes standing apart, and forming each a separate article; and being sometimes incorporated, or closely connected, with some other proposition. Thus under the third head, which is entitled, "Of God's eternal decree and predestination," the second division is composed entirely of the first and third of the Lambeth Articles, and is expressed as follows: "By the same eternal counsel God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished." Whilst

under the same head the fifth division is compounded of two parts, the latter of which is marked by inverted commas, as here below copied, being the fourth of the Lambeth Articles: Such as are predestinated unto life be called according to God's purpose, (his Spirit working in due season,) and through grace they obey the calling, they be justified freely, they be made sons of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity. "But such as are not predestinated to salvation, shall be finally condemned for their sins."

Some of these articles are of a more diffuse and discursive character than usually belongs to confessions of faith, and approach rather to the nature of the homily: as, for instance the seventh, "Of justification and faith;" the tenth, "Of the service of God;" and the twelfth, "Of our duty towards our neighbours:" and some refer to topics not usually made the subject of this sort of composition, such as the primeval state, and the fall of the angels, in the fourth article; the proper dedication of the first day of the week, or the Lord's-day, in the tenth; and the state of the souls of men after this life.

Discursive character of the Irish Articles.

Unusual topics of some of them.

As to the doctrine of these articles, that we may speak historically of the manner in which they were regarded at the time, "I know no cause," says Dr. Bernard, in his *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, "of some men's speaking against them, unless for that they do determine, according to St. Augustine's doctrine against the Pelagians, 'the man of sin,' in 2 Thess. ii., 'to be the Bishop of Rome, as the Morality of the Sabbath.'"

Objections to some of their doctrine.

Concerning the
Sabbath.

The latter of the passages here alluded to, occurs thus in the concluding section of the tenth article: "The first day of the week, which is the Lord's-day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God; and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon religious exercises, both publick and private:" a sentiment, inoffensive as it might appear to us, and unexceptionable in its general bearing, although, with reference to then existing controversies, not unreasonably open to objection, as soon after it was objected to by Dr. Heylin, for appearing to inculcate the Sabbatarian doctrine of a Judaical rest being necessary to be observed on the Lord's-day, and to establish that doctrine as an article of faith^s.

Concerning
Anti-Christ.

The other excepted passage is at the end of the fourteenth article, which affirms that "the Bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme head of the church universal of Christ, that his works and doctrine do plainly discover him to be 'that man of sin,' foretold in the Holy Scriptures, 'whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming:' a definitive appropriation of a difficult and much controverted text which had recently received that interpretation at a Calvinistick synod of the French Reformers at Gappe in Normandy, but concerning which it may be thought that such a decided judgment of its bearing was not discreetly introduced into a body of articles of religion, constructed for the purpose of avoiding all diversity of opinion among the ministers of a national church.

^s *Hist. of the Sabbath*, part ii., chap. viii., p. 492.

Other exceptions were taken at the time, or not long after, against these articles, as speaking the private opinions of their composer, and as agreeable to the views, for which he also was supposed to have a predilection, both in doctrine and discipline, of many both members and opponents of the Irish church. Some of these exceptions may be seen in COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, part ii., book viii., p. 708.

Other exceptions
taken at the
time.

But not to dwell upon them here, it may suffice to observe, that the strongest and most general objection to this declaration of the faith of the Irish church, whether or not it were, as has been imputed to it, "an absolute plot of the Calvinians of England to make themselves a powerful party in Ireland," was its adoption of the Lambeth Articles, which had been attempted to be introduced into the Church of England, but the attempt had notoriously failed. Concerning the merit or demerit of these Lambeth Articles no opinion needs to be expressed: but it may be remarked, that, whilst much encouragement was thereby given to the puritanical party, who had been lately brought out of Scotland into Ulster, to the discouragement and prejudice of the Church of Ireland, an impediment was thereby laid also in the way of an unity of sentiment and profession in the two Churches of England and Ireland: unless the Church of England, following the example now set, should annul her former decision, and admit the peculiarities of the Lambeth system into her declaration of faith; or unless, what was at the time greatly more probable, and was eventually realized, the Church of Ireland should, by rescinding, or tacitly relinquishing, or letting pass into neglect and disuse, the questionable articles, retrace the steps

Strongest objec-
tion to them.

An impediment
to union between
the English and
Irish churches.

which she had imprudently taken, and fall back upon the surer and safer position of the English church.

Put forth as
Articles of Agree-
ment among the
clergy.

The Articles, of which some particulars have been now specified, were in the end put forth as "Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops, and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord God, 1615, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching True Religion." And annexed to them was "The Decree of the Synod, If any Minister, of what degree or quality soever he be, shall publickly teach any doctrine contrary to these Articles agreed upon; if after due admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the Church, let him be silenced, and deprived of all spiritual promotions he doth enjoy." A question was mooted at the time relative to the authority of the Articles, but has been answered by the irrefragable evidence of Dr. Bernard, in his life of Primate Ussher: "Now whereas some have doubted whether they were fully established as the Articles of Ireland; I can testify that I have heard him say, that in the forenamed year, 1615, he saw them signed by Archbishop Jones, then lord chancellor of Ireland, and speaker of the house of bishops in convocation; signed by the prolocutor of the house of the clergy in their names; and also signed by the then Lord Deputy Chichester, by order from King James, in his name. And," he proceeds, "whereas some have rashly affirmed that they were repealed by Act of Parliament, anno 1634, or recalled by any decree of the synod then, needs no further confutation than the sight of either." But

Their authority
satisfactorily
established.

we need not now anticipate this question, which may be more fitly deferred till we come to the transactions of that year.

Question concerning their repeal.

In the same year, wherein these articles were agreed on, there seems to have been a regal visitation of the province of Dublin. The MSS. Library of Trinity College contains the following document, with reference to the state of the diocese, and the difficulty of supplying its wants, by reason of the impropriations, and of the scarcity of sufficient ministers for the cures. The reader will notice the distinction between "preachers" and "reading ministers;" a distinction which is frequently made in similar documents of this period, as was lately observed in the diocesan report of Ferns and Leighlin. The statement is evidently that of the archbishop himself, Thomas Jones, who had been consecrated bishop of Meath in 1584, and translated to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin in 1605; and the manuscript is apparently his own rough copy of his report to the visitors.

Regal visitation of the province of Dublin, 1615.

Statement of his diocese by Archbishop Jones.

"I confess," he says, "here is but a slender account yielded of these two last deaneries, Omurthie and Wicklow, which lie in places remote. I humbly pray my true excuse may be considered of; which is, that I cannot possibly get curates to supply the services of these churches. The rectories are impropriate, and the farmers cannot be drawn to yield any competent means to administer for serving the cure; besides, if we could get means, we cannot possibly get ministers. The natives of this kingdom, being generally addicted to Popery, do train up their children in superstition and idolatry; so soon as they come to age, they send them beyond seas, from whence they return either priests, Jesuits, or seminaries, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to this state. Such English ministers and preachers, as come hither for relief

Impossibility of procuring curates in some parishes.

out of England, we do but take them but upon credit, and many of them do prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt. I do humbly desire a small supply of ministers, and I will have an especial care to their placing in the best manner I can. Some places are fallen void since the beginning of this visitation, for which I know not how to provide incumbents; for the present this is our case.

Archbishop's care in furnishing the Dublin churches with preachers.

"I might add hereunto that my archiepiscopal jurisdiction was granted away by my predecessor to a civilian. The grant was confirmed by both deans and chapters. My jurisdiction hath not yielded me any manner of profit, save only my . . . since my preferment to this see; in which time I have furnished all the churches of Dublin with sufficient preachers, which before they did want. I have preferred none but a preacher in my cathedral church, or other parts. I take God to witness, I have used my best endeavours to place a good ministry; and my care and travail shall be still employed to perform his majesty's religious directions, and to discharge a good conscience before God.

Number of ministers in the diocese.

"So within this diocese of Dublin there is the number of thirty-eight preachers, and above forty reading ministers; besides there are two publick schoolmasters within this diocese, one within the city of Dublin, and the other in St. Patrick's; which teach free schools, and their scholars do prosper well, thanks be to God."

Repeated insurrection of the Papists, 1616.

In 1616 the interposition of the government was again called for, by the insolent conduct of the Papists, of which a specimen was given by the publication of a book, written by David Rooth, vicar apostolick, at the instigation and charge of a Popish nobleman. The book was filled with a multitude of false and malicious accusations of the king's government in Ireland, and yet dedicated to the Prince of Wales: an example of singular shamelessness and

Calumnies on the king's government, dedicated to the prince.

⁶ From the MS. E. 3, 14, Trin. | *tion Book of the Province of Dub-*
Coll. Dublin. *The Regal Visita-* | *lin in 1615.*

folly, to dedicate to the son aspersions and slanders upon the father. But, as if the author intended to mock the son, as well as to insult the father, he added another dedication, by way of appeal, to all foreign emperors, kings, and princes; wherein he avers, that the Irish look for nothing, but that the king would use them like a king, that is, not like a tyrant: comparing King James to Julian the Apostate, and Caius Caligula; and the English to dogs and wild beasts⁷.

But generally the exorbitances of the Papists were at the time such as to constrain the government to act towards them with greater strictness. Two measures were accordingly adopted for their more effectual restraint: one was the banishing of all their regular clergy, who swarmed in vast multitudes through almost every part of the kingdom; the other was to permit no magistrates or other officers to discharge their functions, unless they had qualified themselves by taking the oath of supremacy according to law. In pursuance of these resolutions a proclamation was issued against the Popish clergy, in October, 1617. And, on the 5th of March following, the government seized on the liberties of Waterford, with all their rent-rolls, ensigns of authority, and publick revenues; for that city had rendered itself particularly obnoxious to punishment for its magisterial delinquencies. Three mayors in three successive years had refused to take the oath of supremacy, when tendered by the Lord President of the province, acting under a special commission; one of them, in the mean time, without the assistance of the Recorder, had presided at a gaol-delivery, and tried and condemned a person accused of felony,

Measures of
counteraction by
the government.

Proclamation
against the
Popish clergy,
1617.

Illegal conduct
of the Mayor of
Waterford.

⁷ Cox, ii. 33.

and by his own order caused him to be executed. It appeared also on an investigation taken in September, 1617, that the statute of Queen Elizabeth for uniformity had not been given in charge at their sessions for two years preceding^a.

SECTION IV.

Elevation of James Ussher to the Bishoprick of Meath. His Efforts for the Conversion of Papists. King's Commission for inquiring into the State of the Province of Armagh. Reports from Seven Dioceses in that Province. Presumption of the Popish Clergy exemplified. Bishop Ussher's Sermon on the Swearing-in of Lord Deputy Viscount Falkland. Primate Hampton's Letter on the occasion. Proceedings concerning the Papists. Death of Primate Hampton. Bishop of Meath appointed to succeed him. Death of the King. State of the Church.

Death of Bishop
Montgomery,
1620.

IN 1620 died George Montgomery, bishop of Clogher, during whose incumbency King James annexed many other grants, and especially the abbey of Clogher, with its revenues, to the bishoprick, which thus became one of the richest in the kingdom. His death caused a vacancy at the same time in the see of Meath, which for ten years had been possessed by him together with that of Clogher¹.

Contest of the
new Bishop of
Clogher with the
Primate.

In the see of Clogher he was succeeded by James Spottiswood, brother of the celebrated John Spottiswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, and chancellor of that kingdom; but before his consecration he had a contest with Primate Hampton, concerning the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction by a bishop before his solemn ordination to that office. The Primate was disposed to bring the matter to a pub-

^a Cox, ii, 34.

¹ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 183.

lick trial; but from this he was dissuaded by Ussher, who had on the same occasion been elected to succeed Mountgomery in the see of Meath; and who, whilst he censured the unadvised contestation of the Bishop of Clogher with his metropolitan, and professed his own determination not to act to the derogation of the archiepiscopal authority, nevertheless doubted the result of a publick trial in the King's Court, however the question might be otherwise decided at a disputation in the schools. The Primate, however, maintained, in answer, his original opinion and purpose. Whether he afterwards saw cause to alter his views, or whether the bishop-elect became sensible of the scandal of such a question, between the first and an inferior member of the hierarchy, being discussed in a temporal court, and in consequence withdrew from prosecuting the contest: the dispute was not carried to that extremity, but, after some expostulation, was peaceably composed.

Mediation of
Ussher.

Adjustment of
the dispute.

Meanwhile Ussher, whose election to the see of Meath has been already noticed, was indebted for his elevation to the good opinion entertained by the king of his piety, wisdom, and exquisite learning. The appointment is attributed to the king's own motion; and it is said that he used often to boast that Ussher was a bishop of his own making². His *cong   d'  lire* being sent over, "he was elected by the dean and chapter there," says Dr. Parr, without naming the cathedral. And the following extract from a letter from Oliver St. John, Viscount Grandison, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, testifies the good will entertained towards him in that kingdom: "I thank God for your preferment to the bishoprick of Meath. His majesty therein hath done a gracious

Ussher appointed
by the king to
the see of Meath.

Letter of con-
gratulation
from Viscount
Grandison.

² WARR'S *Bishops*, p. 103.

favour to his poor Church here. There is none here but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto; even some papists themselves have largely testified their gladness of it¹."

Society "De
Propagandâ
Fide" instituted.

The erection of the society, "De Propagandâ Fide," at Rome, which has jurisdiction over missions and foreign Churches, and the influence of which has been sensibly felt by the Churches of England and Ireland, was nearly coincident with the elevation of Bishop Ussher to the episcopal order⁴. Meanwhile his high promotion rather increased than abated his desire to advance the religious reformation of Ireland, by spreading abroad, both publickly and privately, the verities of the Christian faith.

Bishop Ussher's
exertions for the
conversion of
Papists.
1621.

On his return to his own country, in 1621, having been consecrated at Drogheda by Primate Hampton, he directed his mind and efforts especially to the conversion of the members of the Romish communion, who abounded in great numbers in his diocese, and whom he endeavoured to reclaim, by private conversation and gentle methods of reasoning. He was desirous, also, of preaching to them in publick, to which they objected, from their disinclination to take part in the Church service; but at last they consented to hear him preach, provided it were not in a church. He condescended to their exceptions; and regarding himself, we must suppose, as exempt from that local restriction which in common cases is fitly imposed on the publick ministrations of the clergy, preached to them in the sessions-house; and his sermon is said to have had such effect upon the hearers, that their priests prohibited them for the future to hear him in any place.

Effects of his
preaching.

The religious ignorance and prejudices of these

³ *Parr's Life*, p. 17,

⁴ Cox, ii. 35.

poor people were indeed deeply to be deplored. A general obstinacy in clinging to their prepossessions, and a fond devotion to the reading of idle legends of the lives of their saints, were combined with utter destitution of all true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and, blinded as they were by the strong and prevailing influence of these superstitions, the most powerful arguments could draw from them only this answer, "That they followed the religion of their forefathers, and would never depart from it." What, indeed, the religion of their forefathers had been they little knew; and it was to confute this error of the Papists, and to give convincing proofs that Popery was not the old religion of the kingdom, that Bishop Ussher about this time composed his "*Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*;" and showed that ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and purgatory, and image-worship, and the sacrifice of the mass, and half-communion, and transubstantiation, and clerical celibacy, and Papal supremacy, and the Bishop of Rome's spiritual jurisdiction in the Christian Church, did not constitute parts of that ancient religion.

Ignorance and prejudices of the Papists.

Their plea that they followed the religion of their forefathers.

Ussher's Discourse on the Religion of their ancient Irish.

In the early part of the year 1622, the king issued a commission, in obedience to which the several diocesans in the province of Ulster, or speaking ecclesiastically, of Armagh, made a report of the true state of their respective bishopricks and dioceses. These reports, with the exception of that of the Bishop of Dromore, the absence of which is not accounted for, have been preserved in a manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and contain much curious information upon the usual topicks of visitatorial inquiries, rendered, however,

Royal visitation of the province of Armagh, 1622.

Account of
seven of the
northern
dioceses.

especially valuable in the present case by the remoteness of the period, and the general scantiness of detailed intelligence concerning it, as well as by the character of authenticity which belongs to the reports. It is proposed in this place to make an abstract of the document in its leading particulars, and thus to illustrate the condition of the Church, as to several articles of statistical inquiry, in the seven northern dioceses of Armagh, Meath, Kilmore and Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Raphoe, and Down and Connor.

Diocese of
Armagh.

Benefices.

Incumbents and
curates.

Parsonage-
houses.

Churches.

1. Besides the dignities usually, but not always, appended to an Irish Cathedral, namely the deanery, archdeaconry, precentorship, chancellorship, and treasurership, the Archdiocese of Armagh contained at the time in question forty-six rectories, and thirteen vicarages: the duties of which were discharged by forty-seven incumbents, resident or at least serving their respective cures partly or altogether, and by thirteen curates; making in the whole sixty officiating ministers, some of whom are especially noted as being "preachers;" there were also about eighteen non-resident incumbents. There appear to have been only twenty parsonage-houses in a habitable state, and six others decayed. The remaining benefices had no such provision for the minister. For the celebration of divine worship, there were fifty-one churches in good or sufficient repair, of which twenty-three were newly built, or actually in building. Two or three of these are stated to have been undertaken by private generosity; but in general there is no mention of the manner in which the cost of erection was defrayed. There were also belonging to these benefices about eighteen churches, in a ruinous or decayed state.

In addition to these rectories and vicarages, there were thirty-three appropriate, or, as they are now most commonly called, impropriate curacies, the tithes being in the hands of laymen, who made some small allowance to the curates. On one of these there was a resident curate: in ten the cure was served sometimes, "or according to the means;" in the remaining twenty-two it seems not to have been served at all. Seven of the churches belonging to these cures were in repair, twenty-five were ruinous. Besides these, five other appropriate cures were without a curate, and without a church.

Appropriate or impropriate cures.

Evil of impropriations.

The value of these different benefices varied among themselves, being, on a general view, greater or less according to their respective positions in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Louth. In the county of Armagh, the highest was 120*l.*; the lowest 30*l.*, of which there was only one: the next lowest was 50*l.*, of which there were two: then several of 60*l.* or 80*l.*, and one of 100*l.*: giving on an average to each of fourteen benefices in that county the yearly income of about 73*l.* 10*s.* In Tyrone, the highest was 100*l.*, the lowest 10*l.*, between which extremes the scale was continually changing: thus, on the whole, of twenty-two benefices in that county the average was about 30*l.* 15*s.* The Louth livings, which comprised the vicarages, were, again, of inferior value: the highest being 26*l.*; several of the lowest no more than 2*l.* or 3*l.*; one of no value at all: thus the twenty-five in that county produced on an average not quite 10*l.* each. The income of the impropriate curacies graduated from 5*l.*, of which there were two, to 5*s.*, of which there were several; the average income of thirty-one of these curacies being 1*l.* 10*s.*; and the income of eight being nothing.

Value of benefices;

In the county of Armagh;

Of Tyrone;

And of Louth.

Small income of impropriate cures.

Irish readers.

It may be not unworthy of notice, that there are specified in the diocese three curates, two in the county of Tyrone and one in that of Louth, who could read Irish, as well as English.

Diocese of Meath.

2. Of the diocese of Meath, I shall commence with giving the summary, subjoined to the detailed exposition, by Bishop Ussher, and dated the 28th of May, in the year of our Lord God 1622. The exposition itself is voluminous, and supplies the particulars relative to the churches and parsonage-houses, which will be inserted with the summary.

Summary of the diocese.

“There are in the Diocese of Meath:

“Dignities two, both belonging to the patronage of the Bishop of Meath.

“Rectories, collative, presentative, and institutive, fifty-one.

“Vicarages, collative, presentative, and institutive, sixty-three.

“Curateships, or cures belonging to impropriate rectories and others, in all seventy-three.

“Chapels of ease, forty-three.

“The patrons of every living, and the farmers of the impropriate rectories, are all set down and specified in the first column, of which such as are recusants are noted in the margin.”

Benefices.

Thus the total number of benefices in Meath was two hundred and thirty-two. Of the incumbents, thirty-two were non-resident. The incumbents of the others, together with twenty curates, discharged the parochial duties in the diocese. It is not, however, by any means to be supposed, that each of these was resident on, or served, the cure of a separate benefice. The want of residences rendered the former impossible, for there were only seventy-six parsonage-houses in repair: in parishes

Incumbents and curates.

Parsonage houses.

where there had been any in former times, there remained about twenty-two in a state of ruin or decay; in the rest, forming in fact a considerable majority, there appear to have been none at all. Nor was it possible that each cure could have the services of a separate minister: this was precluded by the miserable pittance which formed the incumbent's income, amounting to a few pounds, or a few marks, or in many instances to only a few shillings a year. The practice therefore appears to have been for an incumbent to fix himself in his parsonage-house, if he possessed one, otherwise in some other parish of his cure, or in some town as near as possible; and thence to discharge his duty as he could, often, it is to be feared, very insufficiently.

Small income of incumbents.

Consequent practice.

Upon this point the following remarks of the diocesan are most important, and show the difficulties which beset him.

"If," says Bishop Ussher, "the smallness of the means which cometh to incumbents be regarded, then many of the livings in this diocese are fit to be united, to make up a competent means for the minister. But if the spaciousness of the parishes which are large, and consist of so many inhabitants, as, if they should be reformed and brought to the church, would be more in each parish than the church would hold; and the difference of the patrons, the patronages being in several men's hands; I think none of them fit to be united. But that there were power and authority given to the bishop, for the bettering of the means of the well-deserving ministers, to unite such and so many livings of the value of twenty pounds sterling per annum and under, as he shall think fitting, during the incumbency of the well-deserving minister."

Diocesan's opinion on the question of union of parishes.

In this diocese there appear to have been seventy-eight churches reported as in a state of repair, and one hundred and fifty ruinous. But the

Churches generally ruinous or ill repaired.

diocesan, in his summary, appends this observation :
 "All the churches specified in this certificate, are fit to be builded, repaired, and re-edified."

Diocese of Kilmore and Ardagh.

Benefices.

Incumbents and curates.

Irish ministers or readers.

3. In the united diocese of Kilmore and Ardagh, besides the two deaneries and archdeaconries, there were sixty-four benefices, on which about twenty of the incumbents were non-resident; the rest being either resident, or at least serving their respective cures, as already explained, with the assistance of about ten curates. Of these, two are particularly noted, as ministers "of the country by birth," and two others as being "capable of reading divine service in the Irish tongue." Similar cases have been already stated, as existing in the diocese of Armagh; and it may be well to remark in passing, that the date of this document is antecedent to Bishop Bedell's time.

Small incomes of the clergy.

Evil of impropriations.

Churches.

Parsonage-houses.

Glebes laid out not according to the king's directions.

Several of the cures in this diocese were served by the same minister; and some were not served at all for want of means, the tithes in such cases being altogether subtracted from the vicar or curate by the impropriator; and in one case the curate being locked out of the church, and not suffered to do the duty, by the Earl of Westmeath, an impropriator to a large amount. The churches in repair were fourteen, and one was in building; those that were not well repaired, or were ruinous, were fifty-five. There were thirteen habitable parsonage-houses; on the other benefices there were none, but thirteen of the incumbents were "bound to build." The diocesan, Bishop Moygne, appends an observation, that "in the county of Leitrim, the glebes for the most part are laid out in the most unprofitable places, and remotest from the church, howsoever his majesty gave directions to the contrary."

4. In the diocese of Clogher, the diocesan, Bishop Spottiswood, reported two dignitaries, the dean and the archdeacon: and requested resolution and advice upon a difficulty which had arisen from the conduct of his predecessor, Bishop Mountgomery, who, "without warrant from his majesty, or consent of the clergy, had altered the corporation, and to the dean and archdeacon had added a precentor and chancellor, with only a verbal inauguration." Besides the two dignities, the diocese contained twenty-nine rectories and seven vicarages, the cures of which were served by fourteen resident incumbents and six curates. One of the incumbents is stated to have been non-resident, "because there was no British plantation, but he kept an Irish curate:" and in the case of another, his brother is mentioned as serving the cure, "who, because he is not in orders, hath the primate's licence." There were only four parsonage-houses in repair; none in the other parishes. The churches in repair were five; and there were four new, or in building, mass, in one case, being performed in the old church. The churches in ruin or decay were twenty-eight. In this diocese were few impropriations; one benefice was as high as 160*l.*, another as 100*l.*, two as low as 6*l.* and 8*l.* Upon the entire number of thirty-six, the average was about 32*l.* 10*s.* a year.

Diocese of
Clogher.Irregular act of
the late bishop.

Benefices.

Incumbents and
curates.Parsonage-
houses.
Churches.Value of bene-
fices.

5. The diocese of Derry, besides the archdeaconry and three prebends, contained forty-five parishes, divided into four rural deaneries. There appear to have been only two non-resident incumbents; the others, with the assistance of fifteen curates, discharged the parochial duties. One of the incumbents is described by the diocesan, Bishop Downham, as "an honest man, but no licensed

Diocese of Derry.

Benefices.

Incumbents and
curates.

Irish ministers.

preacher, notwithstanding to catechise, and to speak and read Irish, and sufficient for a parish, wholly consisting of Irish:" and he describes another as "an Irishman of mean gifts, having a little Latin and no English, but thought by my predecessor sufficient for a parish consisting wholly of Irish."

Irish clerks.

The bishop also speaks of a parish where, during the temporary absence of the incumbent recently appointed, "the cure for reading was discharged by an Irish clerk, and for other occasions by neighbouring ministers:" of another, where the incumbent "dischargeth the cure as he may with the help of an Irish clerk, the whole parish consisting of Irish recusants:" of another, where the incumbent "dischargeth the cure, partly by himself every other Sabbath, and in his absence by an Irish clerk, tolerated to read either English or Irish:" of another, where, "in the incumbent's absence, if any of his parishioners would come, as I suppose few or none do, the cure would be discharged after a sort by his clerk, being an Irish scholar:" of another, where "the cure is served partly by the incumbent himself, and partly by an Irish clerk, the parish consisting wholly of Irish peasantry." One or two other instances occur, where mention is made of the cure being "partly served by an Irish scholar," without specifying the capacity in which he acted; and in one case it is reported, that in the absence of the incumbent, who repaired to his church every other Sunday, "the clerk taketh upon him, as I now understand, to serve the cure." By "the clerk" in these instances appears to be intended the parish clerk.

Irish scholars.

Converted
Popish priests.

One example in this diocese is given of a converted Popish priest, "late by the Pope's grant

dean of Derry; but now, being conformable to the Reformed religion, was by the appointment of the last Lord Deputy preferred to this small parish and another which followeth: the cure of both which is by the incumbent after a sort discharged."

There appear to have been thirteen parsonage-houses in the diocese of Derry, none in the other parishes. There appear also to have been nine churches repaired; seven new or in building; and thirty-three unrepaired or ruinous. Some of the churches were rebuilt by the London companies; and there occur several instances of divine service being celebrated in a private house during the temporary want of a church.

Parsonage-houses.

Churches.

The diocesan recommends eight parishes to be united, so as to form four: "and in every pair of these," he says, "one church is sufficient. All other churches are needful to be repaired, and it is lamentable to behold the desolation of the most."

Diocesan's advice as to the union of parishes.

He complains of "the jurisdiction usurped by authority from Rome, to the great dishonour of God and hindrance of religion, and shame of government. The chief authority," he says, "is derived in the pretended archbishop of Dublin, and the pretended vice-primate of Armagh, by whom was made a vicar-general of Derry." "By him are priests placed in every parish, to celebrate the mass, and to execute all other priestly functions; who, though they be rude, ignorant, and vicious fellows, yet carry the natives after them generally; neither is there any hope of reformation, whiles they are suffered to reside among the people. Under the vicar-general are placed four officials, at the least, in the four deaneries, who, amongst many other abominations that they practise, do for small rewards divorce

His complaint of the jurisdiction usurped by Rome.

Evil influence of Popish priests;

Especially as to
marriages.

married couples, and set them at liberty to marry others; insomuch that there is scarce any of years, but he hath more wives living, and few women which have not plurality of husbands."

Insufficiency of
the laws.

"For the removing of these Popish priests our laws are weak and powerless: neither can I get the assistance of the military men, as I desire. And that which discourageth me most is, that when I have got one of them apprehended and convicted, and committed, they have been by corruption set at liberty to follow their former courses. Or when I have excommunicated them, and procured the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, the sheriff of the county of Londonderry, Tyrone, and Donegall, cannot be got to apprehend them, and bring them to prison."

Complaint con-
cerning the
ministers' glebes.

Occasion was also taken by the bishop to complain, in the names of the ministers, that they were not established in their new glebes by any legal assurance: and that they were laid out, for the most part, in places too remote, and divers of them in other parishes.

Diocese of Ra-
phoe.

Benefices.

Incumbents and
curates.

Irish language.

Parsonage-
houses.

Churches.

6. In the diocese of Raphoe, including the cures of the dean and chapter, the component parts of which are specified, as four prebends, there were twenty-seven parishes, of which the cures were served by twelve incumbents, assisted by ten curates. Two of these incumbents were acquainted with the Irish language, and able to teach therein; three of the curates were converted priests; five were reading ministers, both in English and Irish; and there were two parish clerks, who could read the Common Prayer Book in Irish. There seem to have been only two parsonage-houses, the other parishes being destitute of them. Of the churches, nine were repaired or repairing; three were new, or in build-

ing; seventeen were out of repair or ruinous; among these was the cathedral, of which the walls only were standing, but a new roof had been for two years in preparation, "which, God willing, was to be set up this summer, at the bishop's and parishioners' charge."

The deanery of Raphoe was presentative by his majesty; the rest of the dignities and parish churches were at the bishop's collation, except nine, two of which were presentative by private patrons, and seven by the college of Dublin. "Those ministers and incumbents before mentioned have holden their several dignities and parishes, of the diocese of Raphoe, being legally instituted and inducted thereunto, since the time of his majesty's new plantation of Ulster. But," adds the bishop, "I cannot find by any record of the said diocese remaining, what admissions, institutions, and inductions, since the 10th of Henry the Eighth, have been made to the time of the said plantation. And it is like, the records, if any have been, in war-time were lost."

Patronage of the benefices.

Want of records since 10 Henry VIII.

"Of the aforesaid parishes, though the most part be very small, and unable to maintain an honest minister, yet can they not be well united, albeit *tenuitatis gratiâ pro hac vice* the incumbents have them by his majesty's most gracious dispensations, for they are next joining and convenient to be united, belonging to the presentations of divers patrons, who will not possibly agree together."

Diocesan's opinion on the union of parishes.

Several grievances were laid before the commissioners by the bishop and clergy of this diocese, of which two or three may be mentioned.

Grievances stated by the bishop and clergy.

One of them set forth that "whereas the ancient parish churches of the diocese were for the most part ruined, and none of them in good and suffi-

A warrant sought for repairing churches.

cient repair, and the parishioners refractory and unwilling to rectify the same ;” they therefore prayed “a warrant to the bishop, assisted with the minister and churchwardens of every parish, for plotting and levying the equal taxation of the parishioners, as formerly have been done by the Lord Deputy of this kingdom, that the material churches of the said diocese may be finished as they are begun.”

Inconvenient
situation of the
glebe lands.

Another set forth, that “the glebe lands, lately allotted to the parish churches in the diocese, do not lie near the several parish churches, nor any way conveniently for the ministers, but lie in remote places, far from the church, which is the great and only stay of not building of the minister upon the said glebes ;” and they therefore pray, “that some convenient course may be taken for the exchange of parcels of land, being near the churches, with as much of the several ministers’ glebes as shall be proportionable for quantity and quality.”

Prayer for the
maintenance of
parish clerks.

Another sets forth the custom, “that there shall be parish clerks in every parish, maintained by a certain mean contribution of the parishioners ; yet, notwithstanding, in the diocese of Raphoe all the parishioners are refractory and unwilling to yield any benevolence at all for the maintenance of the said clerks ;” and they accordingly pray, “that some mean consideration may be set down, to be levied by yearly distress by the churchwardens from the refusers.”

Prayer for in-
dulgence towards
Irish scholars.

And another sets forth, that “whereas in the said diocese there are divers Irish scholars, who have conformed themselves in religion, and are curates in divers parishes under the British ministers, and yet are fined as the rest of the multitude of the natives, for that they have their residence upon undertakers’ lands, which should be planted with British

tenants;" whereupon they pray to be "relieved of such fines, seeing they serve in the Church, and endeavour, by all means, the conversion of their country-people."

7. The report of the united diocese of Down and Connor is given with less fulness and precision, and with less of incidental information, bearing on the general history of the Church. It appears, however, that the diocese contained sixteen churches in a state of repair, and about one hundred and ten in a state of decay or ruin: added to which were forty-five chapels, also in a ruinous condition. These chapels seem to have had some local peculiarity; for, with reference to the parish of Abbevaddo, *alias* Belfast, the following remark occurs: "This church is known to have six chapels, all which make but one parish; and by this it appeareth, evidently, that these small chapels, whereof there are a great number in this diocese, were part and parcel of some church, and must yet of necessity be united and cast to the next adjacent churches." But, besides these, there were many other denominations of vicarages, curacies, or chapels, of such small value, by reason of the tithes being impropriate, as to be incapable of maintaining a minister; so that it had been necessary to unite no less than six or eight into a single benefice, and in some cases to leave the cure altogether unserved. The whole of the benefices of the diocese were under the care of about forty-three resident ministers, of whom four were curates; nearly trebling the number of the churches fit for use, but yielding an insufficient supply for the number and extent of the parishes in an extensive diocese.

Diocese of Down and Connor.

Churches.

Chapels, a local peculiarity.

Necessity of unions.

Impropriations; their ill consequences.

Benefices.

Ministers.

Churches.

In 1622, the presumption and arrogance of the

Presumption of
the Popish clergy
in the Diocese of
Meath.

1622.

A clergyman
prevented from
officiating by a
Popish priest.

Friars of
Multifernam.

Bishop Ussher's
sermon before
the Lord Deputy.

Account given
of the sermon by
the preacher.

Popish clergy and their adherents were exemplified by two occurrences in the diocese of Meath, and gave occasion to some publick notice and agitation^s. It was certified to the diocesan by a letter from Mr. John Ankers, preacher of Athlone, (such is the title by which the bishop designates him,) "That, going to read prayers at Kilkenny, in West Meath, he found an old priest, and about forty with him, in the church; who was so bold as to require him, the said Ankers, to depart until the priest had done his business." The other case concerned the friars of Multifernam, who, not content to possess the house of Multifernam alone, from which they had been dislodged by the late Lord Deputy, Lord Grandison, were going about making collections for the building of another abbey at Mullingar, for the reception of a fresh body of their order.

Soon after these occurrences, namely, on the 8th of September, Henry Cary, viscount Falkland, was sworn in Lord Deputy; on which occasion of his receiving the sword, Bishop Ussher was called upon to preach at Christ Church: when fitting himself, as he says, to the present occasion, he took for his text those words in the 14th to the Romans, "He beareth not the sword in vain." There he showed, 1st, what was meant by this sword; 2ndly, the subject wherein that power rested; 3rdly, the matters wherein it was exercised; 4thly, thereupon, what it was to bear the sword in vain. Whereupon, falling upon the duty of the magistrates, in seeing those laws executed, that were made for the furtherance of God's service, he first declared, that no more was to be expected herein from the subordinate magistrate than he had received in commission from the supreme, in whose power it lay to limit the

^s Cox, ii. 39.

other at his pleasure. Secondly, he wished that, if his majesty, who is, under God, our supreme governor, were pleased to extend his clemency towards his subjects that were recusants, some order, notwithstanding, might be taken with them, that they should not give us publick affronts, and take possession of our churches before our faces. And that it might appear that it was not without cause that he made his motion, he instanced in the two cases, which had lately fallen out, at Athlone and Multi-fernam. These things he only touched in general, not mentioning any circumstances of persons or places. Thirdly, he entreated, that whatsoever connivance were used unto others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as revolted from us, that we might at leastwise keep our own, and not suffer them without all fear to fall away from us. Lastly, he made a publick protestation, that it was far from his mind to excite the magistrates unto any violent courses against them, as one that naturally abhorred all cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the whore of Babylon, than of the Church of God^e.

This is the account, which the preacher gives of his sermon, in a letter of Oct. 16, 1622, to the Lord Deputy, Viscount Grandison, as a particular, "which partly concerned the bishop himself, and in some sort also the state of the Church in this poor nation." And he then proceeds to state, in few words, the offence which had been taken, and his own vindication. "These points, howsoever, they were delivered by me with such limitations, as in moderate men's judgments might seem rather to intimate an allowance of a toleration in respect of the general, than

Offence taken at
the sermon.
The preacher's
vindication.

to exasperate the state into any extraordinary severity; yet did the Popish priests persuade their followers that I had said, 'The sword had rusted too long in the sheath,' whereas in my whole sermon I never made mention either of 'rust' or 'sheath:' yea, some also did not stick to give it out, that I did thereby closely tax yourself for being too remiss in prosecuting the Papists, in the time of your government. I have not such diffidence in your lordship's good opinion of me, neither will I wrong myself so much, as to spend time in repelling so lewd a calumination. Only I thought good to mention these things unto your lordship, that if any occasion should be offered hereafter to speak of them, you might be informed in the truth of matters."

Letter from
Primate Hampton
to Bishop
Ussher.

But the following day produced a letter from the Lord Primate, Archbishop Hampton, to the Bishop of Meath, breathing great mildness and benignity, but evidently written under the persuasion, that the sermon had been delivered indiscreetly, and required an apology in extenuation.

"Salutem in Christo.

"My Lord,

Recommends
satisfaction to be
given.

"In the exceptions taken by the recusants against your sermon, I cannot be affected, as Gallio was at the beating of Sosthenes, to care nothing for them. I am sensible of that which my brethren suffer: and if my advice had been required, I should have counselled your lordship to give lenitives of your own accord, for all which was conceived over harsh or sharp; the inquisition, whether an offence were given or taken, may add to the flame already kindled, and provoke further displeasure; it is not like to pacify anger. But let your ease be as good as Peter's was, when the brethren charged him injuriously for preaching to the uncircumcised, the great Apostle was content to give them a fair publick satisfaction, Acts xi.:

and it wrought good effects, for the text saith, *His auditis, quiescerunt et glorificaverunt Deum*; 'it brought peace to the congregation, and glory to God.'

"My noble Lord Deputy hath propounded a way of pacification, that your lordship should here satisfy such of the lords as would be present, wherein my poor endeavours shall not be wanting. Howbeit, to say ingenuously what I think, that is not like to have success: for the Lord of Kilkenny, and your other friends, trying their strengths in that kind at Trim, prevailed not; but can tell your lordship what is expected. And, if my wishes may take place, seeing so many men of quality have something against you, tarry not till they complain, but prevent it by a voluntary retraction, and milder interpretation of the points offensive, and especially of drawing the sword, of which spirit we are not, nor ought to be; for our weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. Withal it will not be amiss, in mine opinion, for your lordship to withdraw yourself from these parts, and to spend more time in your own diocese; that such, as will not hear your doctrine, may be drawn to love and reverence your lordship for your hospitality and conversation. Bear with the plainness of an old man's pen; and leave nothing undone to recover the intercourse of amity between you and the people of your charge. Were it but one that is alienated, you would put on the bowels of the Evangelical shepherd, you would seek him and support his infirmities with your own shoulders: how much more is it to be done when so many are in danger to be lost? But they are generous and noble, and many of them, near unto you in blood or alliance; which will plead effectually and conclude the matter fully, whensoever you show yourself ready to give them satisfaction. In the mean time, I will not fail to pray God for his blessings unto the business; and so do rest

Lord Deputy's way of pacification.

Course recommended by the primate.

"Your lordship's very loving brother,

"*Tredagh, October 17, 1622.*"

"ARMAGH."

What was the consequence of this beautiful and truly fatherly appeal of the primate, does not appear.

Consequence of the primate's letter not known.

The common lives, indeed, of Bishop Ussher take no notice of this expostulation; and DR. PARR's *Collection of Letters*, which contains the foregoing, makes no mention of any answer. Cox, indeed, relates, that, however groundless was the clamour of the Papists, the bishop was fain to preach an explanatory sermon to appease it. Such a sermon, if preached, probably resulted from the archbishop's advice: but I cannot verify Cox's relation.

Popish magistrates refuse to take the oath of supremacy.

Nov., 1622.

Censured in the star chamber.

Bishop of Meath's argument on the occasion.

In the following month, November, 1622, some Irish Papists of quality, having been promoted to certain publick offices, refused to take the oath of supremacy, in obedience to the law. For preserving the authority of the law inviolate, and for maintaining the publick tranquillity, the Lord Deputy and the privy council thought it necessary to inflict a censure upon them in the star chamber. The 22nd of November was the day appointed for their appearance. And then, the danger of the law for refusing the oath was opened by the judges; and the quality and quantity of the offence aggravated to the full by those who spoke of them: whereupon the Bishop of Meath took up the subject, being a member of the council, stating that the part, most proper for him to deal with, was the information of the conscience, touching the truth and equity of the matters contained in the oath. The positive duty of acknowledging the supremacy of the government of these realms, in all causes whatsoever, to rest in the king's highness only; and the negative duty of renouncing all jurisdictions and authorities of any foreign prince or prelate, within his majesty's dominions; were calmly and deliberately argued, and in a form calculated, as appears, not only to avoid

offence, but to give satisfaction; for some of the persons, who had been summoned to hear the sentence of *premunire* pronounced against them, expressed themselves convinced by the bishop's reasoning, and submitted willingly to take the oath⁸.

In 1623, January the 21st, another proclamation was published against the Popish clergy, secular and regular, ordering them to depart the kingdom within forty days, after which all persons were forbidden to converse with them. It was probably executed after the usual manner of such proclamations⁹.

Proclamation
against the
Popish clergy.
Jan., 1623.

In the same year, 1623, King James, by letters patent, dated April the 10th, granted to Archbishop Hampton, and his successors, Archbishops of Armagh, for ever, among other things, a power of issuing licenses, or faculties for marriages at uncanonical hours and places, with a right of appointing commissaries for granting such faculties, usually called in Ireland prerogative licenses. The patent was given in virtue of two Irish statutes, which in the beginning of the grant are mentioned as the foundation of the several powers therein granted: namely, "the Act of Faculties," of the 28th of King Henry the Eighth, and the Act of the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth, "for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual;" by both which acts there is lodged in the crown a power to authorize such person or persons, as the crown shall think proper to exercise the several powers therein mentioned in this kingdom¹⁰.

Patent to the
Archbishop of
Armagh, giving
power of grant-
ing special
marriage
licenses.
1623.

Previously to this, in the year 1617, the office of king's almoner had been instituted, with the annual

Office of king's
almoner insti-
tuted.

⁸ Cox, ii. 39. BERNARD, 53.

⁹ Cox, ii. 39.

¹⁰ PRIMATE BOULTER'S *Letters*,
vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

fee of 100*l.* English, and the first appointment to the office conferred on the primate¹¹.

Death of Arch-
bishop Hampton.
1625.

On the 3rd of January, 1625, Primate Hampton died, having lived unmarried till his death, in the 73rd year of his age. Of his learning, which is said to have been great, no fruits remain; but from the letter, which has been transcribed into these pages, the reader will probably have formed a favourable opinion of his character. Nor will the good impression be impaired by the following brief extract of another letter of his, written to Bishop Ussher, the 12th of August, 1623, and preserved in DR. PARR'S *Collection*. "The Gospel," he says, "is not supported with wilfulness, but by patience and obedience. And if your lordship light upon petulant and seditious libels, too frequent now-a-days, as report goeth, I beseech you to repress them, and advise our brethren to the like care."

His character.

The king's
partiality for
Bishop Ussher.

At the period of the primate's death, Bishop Ussher was in England, on a special license of absence, granted by the council of Ireland, at the instance of the king, for enabling him to prosecute the work, in which he was engaged at the king's commandment, on the antiquities of the British churches. The king had previously testified his high opinion of Ussher by promoting him, as we have seen, by his own act to the See of Meath, having previously accepted with singular gratification the elaborate work, dedicated to his majesty, on the constant succession and state of the Christian churches from the Apostles' times: and had recently returned him a special letter of commendation for his duty and affection, well expressed by his late carriage in the council chamber, "wherein," says

¹¹ Rolls, 14 Jac. 1.

the king, "your zeal to the maintenance of our just and lawful power, defended with so much reason and learning, deserves our princely and gracious thanks;" so that it appears to have been altogether in the natural course of events, that his majesty, on learning the vacancy in the Primacy of Ireland, promoted to that dignity the prelate, whom he had on former occasions delighted to honour. This was one of the last acts of King James's royal authority, for, about six days after, the king himself died on the 27th of March, 1625.

Appoints him to the primacy.

Death of the king.

The reign of King James has exhibited the Church of Ireland with features similar to those which marked it under the preceding reign, but exemplified in a greater variety of instances. In the province of Leinster, from the archdiocese of Dublin, and from the suffragan united diocese of Ferns and Leighlin, the like complaints have been heard of an insufficiency of ministers, of an incompetency of clerical income, and of a want of material edifices for the celebration of divine worship; and the complaints have been echoed through the province of Ulster, from every diocese, with one solitary exception, which there is no reason to suppose occasioned by any peculiar advantages which it possessed over the others.

Summary view of the Church during this reign.

General prevalence of similar events.

In Ulster, indeed, the king testified his desire to improve the condition of the Church by grants of land to the clergy, but in many cases his good intentions were defeated by an inadequate execution. And, although in some instances efforts were made for fixing the clergy in their proper residences, and for supplying them with buildings for their official ministrations, the existing evils do not appear to

Evils not grappled with by government.

have been ever fairly grappled with by the governing powers, or to have called forth a great and simultaneous effort for their remedy : so that the members of the Church were left in a condition of lamentable destitution, as to the means of assembling for publick worship and instruction, or of receiving the aid of pastoral guidance for themselves or their children ; and the rural districts in particular are described as presenting a spectacle of almost total abandonment and desolation.

Partial attempts at instructing the people.

The same observation, as to the absence of co-operating and combined exertions, under the auspices of the authorities of the kingdom, applies to the attempts made for the instruction of the people at large, by the instrumentality of the Irish language. Many instances have fallen under our notice of the existence of Irish incumbents or curates, of Irish readers, and Irish clerks ; but these provisions seem to have been the result of individual projects of improvement, rather than of a general and united effort of authority. At the same time, they were met by united and vigorous exertions on the part of the Popish emissaries. Thus little progress appears to have been made in bringing the people in general within the fold of the Reformed Church of Ireland : whilst on the other hand, by the encouragement afforded by the Irish government to Protestant dissenters and separatists, the foundation was laid for an accumulation, in time to come, of additional impediments and perils to the well-being of the Church : the soundness of whose religious profession was also in some degree committed by incorporating with it the modern inventions of the Genevan reformer through the medium of the Lambeth Articles. But by the blessing of

Protestant dissenters.

Providence this evil was not permitted to be of long continuance: being obliterated in the succeeding reign by a recurrence to "the Apostles' doctrine," concerning God's will in man's salvation, as avowed in the professions of the early Christians, and perpetuated in the Articles of the Church of England.

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF

KING CHARLES I. 1625—1649.

JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

AND PRIMATE 1625—

SECTION I.

Accession of the King followed by a Bull of the Pope. Condition of the Church in general; particularly of the Diocese of Armagh. Project of allowing Privileges to the Papists. Judgment of the Primate and other Bishops thereupon. Published by the Bishop of Derry. Its consequences. Measures of the Government. Proclamation irreverently received. Danger of the Archbishop of Dublin from an Insurrection. Proceedings concerning the Papists.

New Bull of the
Pope.

THE accession of King Charles the First to the throne was soon followed by a bull of Pope Urban the Eighth, wherein he exhorted the Catholick, or speaking more properly, the Popish subjects of the king, rather to lose their lives than to take that pernicious and unlawful oath of allegiance, whereby not only provision was made for maintaining fidelity to the King of England, but for wresting the sacred sceptre of the Universal Church from the Vicars of Almighty God; and which Paul the Fifth, his predecessor, of happy memory, had condemned as such: an exhortation which did not fail to operate on the Irish subjects of the papacy, and to encourage their naturally unquiet spirits to fresh agitation¹.

Its effect on the
Irish.

¹ Cox, ii, 41.

The new primate had been detained for some months in England by a quartan ague, the consequence of extraordinary professional exertions in the pulpit; and, on his return to Ireland, in 1626, he found that, whatever was his accession of dignity from his late promotion, it brought no diminution of labour or difficulty; and that the state of the Church was such as to require all the exertions of her faithful sons under the new reign.

Return of
Primate Ussher
to Ireland.

A letter of congratulation, addressed to him, soon after his promotion, by Thomas Moygne, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, may be here transcribed from Dr. PARR's *Collection*, as opening a general prospect of the actual condition of the Irish Church.

Letter to him
from the Bishop
of Kilmore,
March 26, 1625.

"Most reverend, and my honourable good Lord,

"I do congratulate, with unspeakable joy and comfort, your preferment, and that both out of the true and unfeigned love I have ever borne you, for many years continued, as also out of an assured and most firm persuasion that God hath ordained you a special instrument for the good of the Irish Church, the growth whereof, notwithstanding all his majesty's endowments and directions, receives every day more impediments than ever. And that not only in Ulster, but begins to spread itself into other places; so that the inheritance of the Church is made arbitrary at the council table; impropiators in all places may hold all ancient customs, only they, upon whom the cure of souls is laid, are debarred; St. Patrick's Ridges, which you know belonged to the fabrick of that church, are taken away: within the diocese of Armagh, the whole clergy, being all poor vicars and curates, by a declaration of one of the judges this last circuit, (by what direction I know not,) without speedy remedy will be brought to much decay: the which I rather mention because it is within your province. The more is taken away from the king's clergy, the more accrues to the Pope's: and the servitors and undertakers, who should be instruments for settling

Impediments to
the growth of
the Church.

Decay of the
clergy taken
away.

the
clergy.

Church, do hereby advance their rents, and make the Church poor.

“In a word, in all consultations which concern the Church, not the advice of sages, but of young counsellors, is followed. With all particulars the *agents*, whom we have sent over, will fully acquaint you, to whom I rest assured your lordship will afford your countenance and best assistance. And, my good lord, now remember that you sit at the stern, not only to guide us in a right course, but to be continually in action, and standing in the watch-tower to see that the Church receive no hurt. I know my Lord’s Grace of Canterbury will give his best furtherance to the cause, to whom I do not doubt, but after you have fully possessed yourself thereof, you will address yourself. And so, with the remembrance of my love and duty unto you, praying for the perfect recovery of your health,

“I rest, your lordship’s most true and

“Faithful servant to command,

“THO. KILMORE, &c.”

“*March* 26, 1625².”

Importance of
the Primate’s
station.

St. Patrick’s
Ridges,

A particular phrase in the foregoing letter, that of “St. Patrick’s Ridges,” appears to require some explanation. Among the duties reserved in ancient leases, that which is denominated “ridges” occurs frequently. It appears probable that the service of a certain number of days in harvest, to which the lord was entitled, was commuted, and the duty ascertained by the measure of the space, in preference to that of time; hence a “ridge” of work, in sowing or reaping, became, by mutual consent, a substitute for the service of one or more days. The economy fund of St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin, that is, the fund for sustaining the fabrick and other expenses of the cathedral, received from the dioceses of the suffragan bishops a revenue, not unfrequently mentioned under the name of “St. Patrick’s Ridges.”

² PARR’s *Life of Ussher*, p. 322.

By an instrument of May 10, 1550, these “ridges,” throughout the dioceses of Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, and Kildare, and the deaneries of Omurthy, Rathmore, and Salmon-leap, were leased for an annual rent. And a pecuniary consideration was received from them so late as the year 1606, for they are noticed in the proctor’s accounts of that year³. From the foregoing letter, it appears that these duties were recently taken away in 1625; a privation which the writer notices, amongst others, as a diminution of the inheritance of the Church.

Taken away
from the Church.

The following statement, by one of his biographers, of the primate’s conduct, so soon as the restoration of his health allowed him to enter on the personal discharge of the duties of his high office, may serve to throw additional light on the condition of the Church, that part of it, at least, which was especially under his metropolitical superintendence.

State of the
Diocese of
Armagh.

“Being now returned into his native country,” says Dr. Parr, “and settled in this great charge, (having not only many churches, but dioceses, under his care,) he began carefully to inspect his own diocese first, and the manners and abilities of those of the clergy, by frequent personal visitations; admonishing those he found faulty, and giving excellent advice and directions to the rest, charging them to use the Liturgy of the Church in all publick administrations; and to preach and catechise diligently in their respective cures; and to make the Holy Scriptures the rule, as well as the subject, of their doctrine and sermons. Nor did he only endeavour to reform the clergy, among whom, in so large a diocese, and where there was so small encouragements, there could not but be many things amiss; but also the proctors, apparitors, and other officers of his ecclesiastical courts, against whom there were many great complaints of abuses and exactions in his predecessor’s time: nor did he find that Popery and prophaneness had increased

Inspection of it
by the Primate.

His exertions for
its improvement.

³ MASON’S *St. Patrick*’s, p. 75.

in that kingdom by anything more than the neglect of due catechising and preaching; for want of which instruction the poor people that were outwardly Protestants, were very ignorant of the principles of religion; and the Papists continued still in a blind obedience to their leaders. Therefore he set himself with all his power to redress these neglects, as well by his own example as by his ecclesiastical discipline; all which proving at last too weak for so inveterate a disease, he obtained his majesty's injunctions to strengthen his authority, as shall be hereafter mentioned⁴."

Projected indulgences to the Papists, 1626.

An increase of the army in 1626 having been found necessary, in order to make the Papists more willing to contribute to its support, it was proposed to suspend all proceedings against them for marriages and christenings by priests, and to allow them other privileges without taking the oath of supremacy, with the design of introducing a more publick toleration of their religion. To this end a great assembly of the nation was convened by the Lord Deputy, Lord Falkland, at the castle of Dublin, without any religious distinction.

Assembly of the prelates on the occasion,
Nov. 26, 1626.

But to obviate this design, the Lord Primate invited all the archbishops and bishops to his house for the purpose of consulting upon the course fit for them to take upon a question of so delicate a nature, and so abundant in the most momentous consequences to religion and the Church: and there the assembled prelates, on the 26th of November, unanimously drew up, agreed to, and subscribed the following protestation against any toleration of Popery, especially from regard to secular advantages. The instrument was entitled "The Judgment of divers of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion;" and it bore the signatures of the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel,

Their protestation against toleration of Popery.

⁴ PARR'S *Life of Ussher*, p. 27.

⁵ Cox, ii. 208.

and of the Bishops of Meath, of Ferns and Leighlin, of Down and Connor, of Derry, of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, of Killala and Achonry, of Kilmore and Ardagh, of Dromore, of Waterford and Lismore, and of Limerick. The English names of the dioceses are here recited, for some of them probably would not be obvious to many readers under their Latin appellations.

“The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects.

Form of their judgment.

“For, 1. It is to make ourselves accessory, not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and in a word to all the abominations of Popery; but also, which is a consequent of the former, to the sedition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholic apostasy.

Sinfulness of the proposed toleration.

“2. To grant them toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And, as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the God of truth to make them, who are in authority, zealous of God's glory and of the advancement of true religion: zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen.

Its great danger.

“Ja. Armachanus.

Mal. Caschellen.

Anth. Medensis.

Tho. Hernes and Laghlin.

Ro. Dunensis, &c.

Georg. Derons.

Richard, Corke, Cloyne,

Rosses.

Andr. Alachadens.

Tho. Kilmore and Ardagh.

Theo. Dromore.

Michael Waterford and

Lysmore.

Fran. Lymerick^c.”

Signatures to the protestation.

The foregoing were the signatures to this solemn protestation of the Irish episcopate against the apostate Church of Rome; for the reader's more ready identification of the individuals, I annex their family names in the foregoing order:

Family names of
the protesting
bishops.

"James Ussher.	Archibald or Andrew Ha-
Malcolm Hamilton.	milton ⁷ .
Anthony Martin.	Thomas Moygne.
Thomas Ram.	Theophilus Buckworth.
Robert Echlin.	Michael Boyle.
George Downham.	Francis Gough."
Richard Boyle.	

"All these bishops," says Dr. Bernard, in his *Life of the Archbishop of Armagh*, "are dead; and this Lord Primate, surviving them all, is now dead also; but by this they still speak."

Publication of
the judgment by
the Bishop of
Derry.

April 23, 1627.

This "judgment" of the prelates seems not to have been published at the time, and the suspension of it gave occasion for an occurrence which must have been of no ordinary or trifling effect. For at the next meeting of the assembly, April 23rd, 1627, George Downham, bishop of Derry, preached at Christ Church, before the Lord Deputy and council, on the subject of toleration, against which he thus remonstrated:

His sermon.

"Are not many among us, for gain and outward respects, willing and ready to consent to a toleration of false religion, and thereby making themselves guilty of a great offence, in putting to sale not only their own souls, but also the souls of others?" "But," he then demanded, "what is to be thought of toleration of religion? I will not deliver my own private opinion, but the judgment of the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom, which I think

⁷ WARE's *Bishops*, pp. 486, 652.



AUG 75

N. MANCHESTER,

